# Daily Report

# East Europe

FBIS-EEU-93-232
Monday
6 December 1993

# Daily Report
## East Europe

*FBIS-EEU-93-232* *6 December 1993*

CONTENTS

**NOTICE TO READERS:** An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.
An Ω indicates a Foreign Media Note.


**INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

Filipovic Denies Talks on Partitioning Sarajevo *[Sarajevo Radio]* ..... 1
Croat Leader: Sides To Meet in Geneva 15 Dec *[Zagreb Radio]* ..... 1
Bonn Conference Votes To Lift Arms Embargo *[Sarajevo Radio]* ..... 1
'Budapest Group' To Combat Illegal Immigration *[Budapest MTI]* ..... 1

**ALBANIA**

Italian Aid Operation Ends; Troops To Depart *[ATA]* ..... 2
Italy's Fabbri Attends Ceremony *[Tirana Radio]* ..... 2
Fabbri Meets Berisha, Zhulali *[Tirana TV]* ..... 2
Berisha Thanks Italian President *[Tirana TV]* ..... 2
No Radioactive Pollution in Shkoder Lake *[Tirana ATA]* ..... 3
Meksi Addresses Democratic Party Assembly *[Tirana ATA]* ..... 3

**BULGARIA**

FRY's Kontic Makes 'Unofficial Working Visit' *[Sofia Radio]* ..... 4
Closer Cooperation Sought *[TANJUG]* ..... 4
Kontic Stresses Human Rights *[Belgrade Radio]* ..... 4
Crisis, Minority Rights Discussed *[Sofia Radio]* ..... 4
'Serious Threat' of Sanctions Noted *[TANJUG]* ..... 5
Oil, Gas Offered as Aid *[TANJUG]* ..... 5
Transport Corridor Proposal Viewed *[TANJUG]* ..... 5
Talks Described as 'Positive' *[TANJUG]* ..... 6
Foundation for Future Relations *[Sofia Radio]* ..... 6
'Unscheduled Meeting' Held *[TANJUG]* ..... 7
Kontic Ends Visit *[BTA]* ..... 7
Zhelev Departs on Official Visit to Israel *[Sofia Radio]* ..... 7
Kozloduy's Sixth Reactor Switched Off *[Sofia Radio]* ..... 7
'Around the Clock' Repair Efforts *[Sofia Radio]* ..... 7
Miners Union Declares National Strike *[BTA]* ..... 8
Black Sea Ministers To Meet in Sofia 9 Dec *[BTA]* ..... 8
Ethnic Turkish Leader Requests Asylum in U.S. *[DUMA 1 Dec]* ..... 8
Tanev Blames SDS for State of Agriculture *[PARI 29 Nov]* ..... 9
Zhelev Admits 'Reservations' on Berov's Actions *[BTA]* ..... 9
Government Moves To Increase Budget Deficit *[BTA]* ..... 10
Cabinet Sets Up Renewable Privatization Fund *[BTA]* ..... 10
Hodja Attack at Conference Benefits Dogan *[DUMA]* ..... 11
Admiral Wants 'Small, Modern Navy' *[BULGARSKA ARMIYA 29 Nov]* ..... 11

**CZECH REPUBLIC**

Commentary on Russia Regaining 'Influence' *[MLDA FRONTA DNES 2 Dec]* ..... 13
Uhde Cited on FRG Talks on Sudeten Germans *[DENNI TELEGRAF 2 Dec]* ..... 13
Commentary on Visit by Bundestag Deputies *[CESKY DENIK 2 Dec]* ..... 14
Link Between Pipeline, Sudeten Issue Viewed *[LIDOVE NOVINY 2 Dec]* ..... 15
Czech-Slovak Business Agreement Ratified *[CTK]* ..... 16
Commission Fails To Reach Conclusion on Border *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 4 Dec]* ..... 16
Lux: Polish Border Should Not Be Changed *[CTK]* ..... 16

Havel, Slovenian Counterpart Sign Trade Pact *[Prague Radio]* ..... 16
Parliament Approves Law on Consumer Taxes *[CTK]* ..... 16
SDL on Coalition Treatment of Constitution *[CTK]* ..... 17
Kocarnik Views 1994 Budget Spending, Revenues *[CTK]* ..... 17
Rejects Deficit Prediction *[CTK]* ..... 17
Poll Reveals Czech Attitudes on Trade Unions *[CTK]* ..... 18
Moravians Favor 'Lands' as Administrative Unit *[CTK]* ..... 18
Interior Ministry Reports Cases of Racism *[CTK]* ..... 18

## SLOVAKIA

Meciar Confirms Kovac Call for Resignation *[CTK]* ..... 20
Meciar: 'Government Would Fall' *[CTK]* ..... 20
Kovac Appoints New Health Minister *[PRAVDA 3 Dec]* ..... 20
Meciar To Dismiss Bank Deputy Governor *[CTK]* ..... 20
Resignation Request Denied *[PRAVDA 2 Dec]* ..... 20
Meciar Views Dismissal of Prosecutor General *[CTK]* ..... 21
CTK Provides More Details on 1994 Budget ..... 21
SME Examines 'Indiagate' Investigations ..... 21

## HUNGARY

Antall To Continue Chemotherapy 'as Planned' *[MTI]* ..... 23
Konya Visits Antall in Hospital *[MTI]* ..... 23
Defense Secretary on NATO Expansion East *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 24 Nov]* ..... 23
FIDESZ Advocates 'Positive Discrimination' *[Budapest TV]* ..... 24
Journalists See Press Freedom 'Threatened' *[Budapest Radio]* ..... 24
New Weapons Delivery Scandal Emerges *[PESTI HIRLAP 3 Dec]* ..... 24

## POLAND

Olechowski on Integration in Western Market *[GLOS PORANNY 15 Nov]* ..... 25
Citizens Polled on Russia's NATO Objections *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 30 Nov]* ..... 26
Poll Shows Shift of Threat From Germany to Russia *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 2 Dec]* ..... 26
Walesa Backs 'Good Relations' With Russia *[Warsaw Radio]* ..... 27
Olechowski Still Hopeful on NATO Membership *[Warsaw TV]* ..... 27
Walesa Interviewed on Silesia Policy *[TRYBUNA SLASKA 22 Nov]* ..... 28
Politicians, Media View Mutual Relationships *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 3 Dec]* ..... 29
National Radio Becomes Public Company *[PAP]* ..... 31
Most Poles See Nation Going in 'Wrong Direction' *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 4-5 Dec]* ..... 32

## ROMANIA

PD-FSN Leaders Blamed for Rally Disturbance *[ROMPRES]* ..... 33
Party Blames 'Current Power' *[Bucharest Radio]* ..... 33
Melescanu Views Relations With Croatia, FRY *[VECERNJI LIST 29 Nov]* ..... 34
Melescanu Comments on NACC Meeting *[Bucharest Radio]* ..... 35
Reform Issues Examined With IMF Officials *[ROMPRES]* ..... 35
PNTCD's Coposu Favors 'Censure Motion' *[Bucharest Radio]* ..... 36
Data on Agriculture, Transportation Issued *[ROMPRES]* ..... 36

## BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Izetbegovic, Silajdzic Comment on Geneva Talks *[Sarajevo Radio]* ..... 37
Karadzic Praises Milosevic Stand in Geneva Talks *[TANJUG]* ..... 39
Army Commander Optimistic About Talks Outcome *[Sarajevo Radio]* ..... 39
Presidency Member Suggests Partition of Sarajevo *[AFP]* ..... 40
Izetbegovic Adviser Reacts *[AFP]* ..... 40
Serbs, Muslims To Press Croats for Sea Access *[Zagreb TV]* ..... 40
Delic, UNPROFOR Discuss No-Fly Violations *[Sarajevo Radio]* ..... 41

General Alert in Sarajevo After Serb Attack *[Zagreb Radio]* ..... 41
Shell Kills Four *[AFP]* ..... 41
Serb Attacks Reportedly Continuing *[Sarajevo Radio]* ..... 41
Ministry Condemns UNPROFOR 'Conduct' *[Sarajevo Radio]* ..... 42
'Around 100' Serbs Killed in Teocak Combat *[Sarajevo Radio]* ..... 42
Muslim, Croatian Attacks on Serbs Reported *[TANJUG]* ..... 42
Abdic Forces Advancing Toward Cazin *[Zagreb TV]* ..... 42
'Fierce' Inter-Muslim Fighting Reported *[Zagreb Radio]* ..... 42
Government Troops Join Abdic Forces in West *[Zagreb Radio]* ..... 43
Minister Accuses UN Forces of Supporting Abdic *[Sarajevo Radio]* ..... 43
UNPROFOR: Krajina Serbs Supporting Abdic *[AFP]* ..... 43
Twenty-Four Killed in Clashes in Last 24 Hours *[Sarajevo Radio]* ..... 43
Zenica Suspends Evacuation of Croats, Serbs *[Zagreb TV]* ..... 44
Croatian Daily Profiles New HVO Commander *[NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA 24 Nov]* ..... 44

**CROATIA**

Krajina Official Discusses Peace Negotiations *[Belgrade TV]* ..... 46
Martic Stresses Unity of All Serbian Areas *[Belgrade TV]* ..... 46
Martic Interviewed *[Belgrade TV]* ..... 47
Serbian Shelling Causes Damage in Biograd *[Zagreb Radio]* ..... 51
President Tudjman Receives U.S. Senator *[Zagreb Radio]* ..... 51
Radicals Object to 'Bias' in Krajina Media *[POLITIKA 26 Nov]* ..... 52

**SLOVENIA**

Peterle Sends Letter to Clinton on Bosnia *[TANJUG]* ..... 53
WEU Status Seen as 'First Important Step' *[Ljubljana Radio]* ..... 53
Drnovsek, Klaus Sign Free Trade Agreement *[CTK]* ..... 53

**YUGOSLAVIA**

**Federal**

Kontic on Possible Suspension of Sanctions *[Belgrade Radio]* ..... 54

**Serbia**

Opposition Parties To Run Separately *[TANJUG]* ..... 54
Albanian Parties To Run in Elections *[ATA]* ..... 54
Russian Embassy: No Promises Made to Opposition *[TANJUG]* ..... 55
Royalist Party Sends Letter to Clinton *[Belgrade Radio]* ..... 55
Milosevic's Wife Calls Nationalism 'Primitive' *[Hamburg DIE WOCHE 2 Dec]* ..... 55

**Macedonia**

Office For Relations With U.S. Opens in Skopje *[TANJUG]* ..... 56
PPD in Gostivar Splits From Central Presidency *[Tirana Radio]* ..... 56
Archbishop's Selection 'Victory' for Nationalists *[TANJUG]* ..... 57

**Kosovo**

Increased Forces Noted Near Albanian Border *[Tirana TV]* ..... 57
Expulsions of Albanians Called 'Ethnic Cleansing' *[ATA]* ..... 57

## Filipovic Denies Talks on Partitioning Sarajevo

*AU0212202993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] In reaction to the numerous statements claiming that the partitioning of Sarajevo was discussed at the Geneva talks, Muhamed Filipovic, member of our delegation, made a statement for Radio Television Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Begin Filipovic recording] Well, I can say that the discussions pertaining to the demarcation which were held yesterday between the Serbian and Bosnian delegations, that is, between the delegations of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Karadzic's representatives, did not broach the subject of partitioning Sarajevo. Our delegation's position—in all variants—was that Sarajevo, as an urban whole, should remain one city. Moreover, it was not effectively opposed, nor—at least I am not under that impression—that it was particularly strongly opposed by the Serbian side. What was discussed was that the Serbs [words indistinct]. [passage indistinct] is that the ethnic states, or ethnic resources can be established only on territories that ethnically belong to a specific people; therefore, this Serbian Sarajevo—if they wish to establish it—can only be established in parts where the Serbs live and where there is space that will allow them to do so.

Therefore, I wish to stress that the Bosnian delegation did not accept any proposal pertaining to the partitioning of Sarajevo, nor is this an issue. The issue is that we want to reach an agreement that will allow Sarajevo to remain a single city, and on the other hand, make it possible for it to be open toward central and eastern Bosnia, so that, as a city, it can function normally. In this respect we have been discussing Vogosca, Ilijas, and a passage toward the Bosna, Lepenica, Kresevica, and Fojnica River valleys, and on the other side toward Kladanj and Olovo, where the Bosnian republic should be [words indistinct]. I believe that these talks, despite all the difficulties and negative elements that are inherent to such talks, are going in a way that first, does not threaten the interests of keeping Sarajevo a single city, and second, the interests of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a—so to speak—zone that should evolve in such a way and according to such criteria that it can survive and live. [end recording]

## Croat Leader: Sides To Meet in Geneva 15 Dec

*LD0212151093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] The leaders of the warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina agreed to meet again in Geneva on 15 December, the leader of the Bosnian Croats, Mate Boban, told reporters in Geneva today. Leaving the Palais des Nations in Geneva where the leaders of Serbs and Muslims were holding bilateral talks, Boban said that the warring sides had agreed to have more frequent meetings to reach an agreement. I think that the fact that the talks will be resumed on 15 December is a big step, Boban told journalists following a meeting with mediators Owen and Stoltenberg.

The British news agency Reuter recalls that it was said earlier that Izetbegovic and Karadzic had made a significant progress concerning the exchange of territories, including Sarajevo and eastern Bosnia.

## Bonn Conference Votes To Lift Arms Embargo

*AU0312170493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] The conference of parliamentarians of five European countries voted at its session in the Petersburg Hotel near Bonn to lift the arms embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina and in favor of military aid to our country [words indistinct]. Bundestag Deputies (Christian Schelling) and (Stefan Weik) pointed out that dissatisfaction with the government's foreign policy had been expressed at the session. Both of them demanded the replacement of the international mediators, Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, who have, as they put it, disqualified themselves.

## 'Budapest Group' To Combat Illegal Immigration

*AU0312192193 Budapest MTI in English 1648 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Budapest, 3 December (MTI)—Called Budapest Group, an informal forum on illegal migration was set up by 15 countries and five organizations in Budapest on Friday [3 December], with Hungary's retired minister Andras Galszecsy as president.

Speaking to reporters on Friday, Galszecsy said the group was formed by a decision of the Budapest conference held in February by European interior and justice ministers to combat illegal migration.

The Budapest Group will monitor implementation of the ministers' recommendations, compare various bilateral deportation agreements, and promote communication links between national border guards in Europe.

Galszecsy said the group was not meant to be another over-bureaucratized institution. It maintains no permanent headquarters or staff, and will meet each time in a different country, with Greece as the next likely location.

The Budapest Group, comprised of mainly interior ministry officials, has no power to intervene in member countries, internal affairs, but can exert moral pressure by making public cases of non-compliance with jointly approved recommendations.

## Italian Aid Operation Ends; Troops To Depart

*AU0312175193 Tirana ATA in English 1149 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Tirana, December 3 (ATA)—The ceremony of the final departure of the contingent of the Italian armed forces "Pelican," will be held on December 3 at 1530 [1430 GMT] at the Sports Palace in Durres.

The operation "Pelican" began in the fall of 1991 to help Albania overcome the difficult economic situation. The "Pelican" testifies to the solidarity among peoples. It also sets a unique and unprecedented example of the peaceful engagement of the armed forces for entirely humanitarian goals.

The Italian Embassy in Tirana reports that about 6,000 Italian servicemen have taken part in aid operations. About 500 various transport vehicles have carried out 10 million and 500 thousand kilometres with 664 thousand tons of food, mostly aid form the Italian Government, to the most remote areas. About 164 ships have been unloaded, of which 70 with Italian aid.

During 1,876 hours of flight, the "Pelican" helicopters have shipped food and medicines also to the most remote zones that could not be reached otherwise. They have undertaken aid operation for shipping the sick, of whom 129 seriously ill, to Italy.

The "Pelican" operation doctors have carried out about 205,369 medical examinations as well as operations.

The "Pelican" is accomplishing its mission, whereas the Italian cooperation is passing from the stage of emergency to that of structural [word indistinct] and technical cooperation.

## Italy's Fabbri Attends Ceremony

*AU0312203093 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Excerpt] Italian Defense Minister Fabio Fabbri arrived in our country at noon today. Mr. Fabbri will attend the thanksgiving ceremony organized on the occasion of the departure of the Pelican Operation troops.

Meanwhile, the Italian defense minister will meet our top functionaries at the Defense Ministry and the country's high-level authorities. [passage omitted]

## Fabbri Meets Berisha, Zhulali

*AU0412152493 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] This afternoon, President of the Republic Sali Berisha received Italian Defense Minister Fabio Fabbri, who is in Tirana. President Berisha addressed the Italian minister, stressing that, in the name of the Albanian people, it was a pleasure and an honorable task for him to convey to all the militarymen of the Pelican Operation, their families, and the Italian people and government his deep gratitude for the noble mission and the valuable assistance they had rendered to Albania at a time when the regime of red powerholders had decided to use ruin as a means to emerge from the scene of history [as heard].

Further, Berisha stressed that Pelican Operation established ties of friendship between our two friendly countries and that Albania is ready to cooperate closely with Italy. By preserving its own identity and sovereignty, Albania considers not only cooperation with the European Union and NATO, but also its cooperation with Italy as an important factor in preserving peace and stability in the region. It is true that Albania is a poor country, President Berisha stressed, but it has a tradition and a military experience that should not be neglected.

On his part, conveying the warmest greetings in the name of President Scalfaro, the Italian Defense Minister Fabbri said that he felt honored by the words of gratitude of President Berisha and was sure that the experience gained in the framework of the Pelican mission would serve to strengthen relations of cooperation between both our countries and peoples. President Berisha handed him a message addressed to President Scalfaro. This evening, Defense Minister Safet Zhulali received Italian Defense Minister Fabbri and the other members of the military delegation at a special meeting. After thanking them for the contribution of the Pelican Operation during the transition period, in distributing aid and their assistance in medicine and the work of the Naval Group 22, Mr. Safet Zhulali expressed his readiness and need to further increase the level of cooperation in the military field by finding ways, opportunities, and possible alternatives.

Later, the two interlocutors exchanged opinions in this direction, stressing the need to further enhance cooperation between our two armies.

Paolo Foresti, Italian ambassador in Tirana, was present at the reception.

## Berisha Thanks Italian President

*AU0412152693 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Message from President of the Republic Sali Berisha to Italian President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro—read by announcer]

[Text] Honorable President: The end of the noble mission of the Operation Pelican gives me a special occasion to express to you my most heart-felt and sincere thanks on the valuable, great, and noble aid that the Italian Government and people gave to Albania in general and through Operation Pelican in particular.

At the end of this fall, with a deep feeling of gratitude, we Albanians welcome the departure of this unit, whose humanitarian work will remain as the highest expression that exists between our two countries.

Operation Pelican came to Albania at an extremely difficult time for our people and country, at a time when, through numerous criminal mechanisms, the red power-holders paralyzed the country's economic life and organized exoduses and the wave of destruction, thus aiming to create a Somalia in Europe, in which hunger and destitution would create conditions for massive clashes. With its activity, Operation Pelican played a great role in preventing the starvation that threatened Albania.

By their behavior, sacrifices, self-sacrifices, their correct and friendly attitudes, the militarymen of this operation won the love and respect of all Albanians and made a great contribution in strengthening the friendly ties between our two countries.

They depart from Albania after accomplishing, with honor and dignity, a great and noble mission. That is why all the militarymen of this operation, their families, the Italian Government and people enjoy today the deepest gratitude of the Albanian people.

I express my conviction that, in our relations, Pelican terminated one period to give life to another. It will depart, opening paths for a further intensive cooperation of Albania with Italy.

Honorable Mr. President, please accept the assurance of my highest consideration.

Yours, Sali Berisha.

## No Radioactive Pollution in Shkoder Lake

*AU0512155393 Tirana ATA in English 1130 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[Text] Tirana, December 4 (ATA)—Radiometric tests show no radioactive pollution in Lake of Shkoder, Koco Dollani of the Nuclear Physics Institute in Tirana told a Radio Tirana reporter December 3. The institute was charged by the National Environmental Protection Committee to make tests in the Lake of Shkoder after the recent official report by the mayor of Shkoder, who claimed radioactive pollution of the lake by scrap from the aluminum plant in Montenegro. Tests were made on samples of water, fish and flora of the lake. The Nuclear Physics Institute has said that it is ready to cooperate with other institutions to look into the natural radioactivity of Lake of Shkoder and possible pollution of other Albanian lakes and seas.

Lake of Shkoder covers an area of 368 square kilometers between Albania and Montenegro.

## Meksi Addresses Democratic Party Assembly

*AU0512202293 Tirana ATA in English 0938 GMT 5 Dec 93*

[Text] Tirana, December 5 (ata)—On December 5, in the afternoon sitting of the Second National Assembly of the Democratic Party [DP], Premier Meksi dwelt on the achievements and problems of the economic reform to switch from a centralised economy onto a market economy, which was indispensable under the conditions of Albania after dictatorship alongside important institutional, political and social changes. Mr. Meksi dwelt on the human factor which is decisive for the development of the reform. "The destiny of the reform depends on the people," he said. Alongside the necessity of selecting capable cadres, who will cope with the new demands emerging from numerous relations with the world, Mr. Meksi made known to the assembly that, for the next year the government is working to prepare a full legislation which will guarantee a good treatment of the state evployees. Further on, Mr. Meksi mentioned in detail the measures adopted by the government which brought about an increase in industrial and agricultural production, in the national income, a reduction of inflation, etc.

"Unbiased assessments made by expertise specialised institutions all over the world, regarding the results of the economic reform in Albania, are very positive," Mr. Meksi said adding that the government had the support and assistance of foreign countries and institutions, which guarantee that they will support Albania, and help the government with its work to encourage foreign investments through a liberal and guaranteed legislation. "The medium term economic policy will especially concentrate on privatization, modernisation of agriculture, restructuring of enterprises, operation of construction sectors, creation of a modern financial sector as well as on the accomplishment of the fiscal reforms," the premier concluded.

## FRY's Kontic Makes 'Unofficial Working Visit'

*AU0312183093 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] This evening Radoje Kontic, chairman of the Government of the FRY, Serbia and Montenegro, arrived on an unofficial working visit to Bulgaria. He is accompanied by members of his cabinet and top Serbian Government officials.

## Closer Cooperation Sought

*LD0312212493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2025 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Dimitrovgrad, 3 December (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has no open political or other questions with the Republic of Bulgaria, Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic said this evening in Dimitrovgrad on his way to Sofia.

On the eve of his talks with Bulgarian Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, who invited him to visit Sofia, the Yugoslav federal prime minister told TANJUG that the two will hold talks on bilateral cooperation. This cooperation is currently at a very low level, Kontic said. The reasons for that, however, do not lie with either the Yugoslav or the Bulgarian side, but with the UN Security Council sanctions against the FRY, Kontic said.

He stressed that the two countries should establish close economic cooperation, particularly in border trade, after the lifting of the UN economic blockade.

Kontic arrived in Sofia around 2000. The talks between the Yugoslav and Bulgarian prime ministers are scheduled for 1000 tomorrow in Sofia.

## Kontic Stresses Human Rights

*AU0312220293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Report by Dragoljub Stankic]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] In Dimitrovgrad, Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic met with representatives of the Bulgarian minority. He was greeted by the communal chairman Nikola Stojanov, who particularly stressed that the Bulgarian minority has the role of drawing closer and linking two close peoples—the Serbians and the Bulgarians. They [the minority] are ready to go on promoting this role of mutual cooperation. At the beginning of his address, Prime Minister Kontic said that he was impressed with the concrete realization of minority rights according to all the norms and standards set by the CSCE. Kontic stressed that this was the lasting commitment of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Our country has no open political issues or any other issues with Bulgaria. That is why, said Kontic, the delegation that has already arrived in Bulgaria would concentrate on three areas:

[Begin Kontic recording] The first area is bilateral cooperation, for which I can say that, at the moment, is at an extremely (?low) level or at an unsatisfactory level. Of course, the reasons should not be looked for in [words indistinct], either one side or the other; the main reason is that the Bulgarian side is consistently implementing the sanctions toward the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

I must admit that, in a certain sense, we understand this. However, I have to stress that we expect the Bulgarian side to understand our position as well and to adhere in a principled way to the position that it has been promoting so far—that is, that a unilateral pressure cannot be applied just to the Serbian side in the matter of the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis or, that the territory of neighboring countries cannot be used for any kind of military actions, for any kind [words indistinct].

[Words indistinct] of bilateral cooperation, I have to stress that our two economies are extremely complementary and that conditions exist for an intense development [words indistinct]. That is why we believe that, on this occasion, we should start (?establishing) all normative, legal, material, and other [word indistinct] and conditions so that once the sanctions are lifted, we can develop cooperation [words indistinct]. [end recording]

At the end, Prime Minister Kontic stressed that 25,000 Bulgarians live in Yugoslavia and that they are a friendly people. The Federal Government believes that minorities are not a bone of contention but a bridge of cooperation between the two countries. Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic arrived in Bulgaria with these impressions to hold talks with Bulgarian Prime Minister Lyuben Berov.

## Crisis, Minority Rights Discussed

*AU0412170693 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[Text] In its attitude toward the Yugoslav crisis, Bulgaria is led by its friendly feelings for all the nations of the former Yugoslavia. This was stated by Bulgarian Prime Minister Lyuben Berov at a working meeting with Radoje Kontic, prime minister of the Government of the FRY—Serbia and Montenegro—which took place today at the Boyana Residence.

Bulgaria is against the establishment of alliances and groups in the region, the leader of the Bulgarian delegation declared, adding that this attitude could be reassessed if a new conflict emerges along our western border, which could affect Bulgarian interests.

The guest assured the Bulgarian delegation that the FRY has no territorial claims toward the former Yugoslav republics or any other neighboring countries.

As far as the problems of the Bulgarian minority in the so-called western outlands is concerned, our prime minister proposed to restore the Bulgarian language as an equal language in a bilingual education system and

equalize the information rights by increasing the weekly television newscasts in the Bulgarian language. He demanded that Bulgarian newspapers and books should be freely sold in those regions and that church services in the settlements with a predominantly Bulgarian population should be conducted in Bulgarian.

The chairman of the Government of Serbia and Montenegro assumed the commitment that the CSCE norms and requirements will be fully applied toward the Bulgarian minority.

### 'Serious Threat' of Sanctions Noted

*LD0512161493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1458 GMT 5 Dec 93*

[Text] Nis, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—Federal Premier Radoje Kontic has said that during his visit to Bulgaria, almost complete agreement was reached on three key issues—bilateral cooperation, humanitarian needs, and lifting of sanctions.

"We have achieved the aims that took us to Sofia," Premier Kontic said in Nis today following his three-day visit to Bulgaria where he stayed at the invtation of Bulgarian Premier Lyuben Berov.

"We fully agree that bilateral and even multilateral cooperation in the Balkans has reached freezing point," Kontic noted and added that such a situation is not the neighbor's wish but a consequence of sanctions. Premier Kontic pointed out that that it was agreed that wide-ranging cooperation with Bulgaria should be developed once sanctions are lifted.

Kontic stressed that he and Bulgarian Premier Berov made it clear that the sanctions could be a serious threat to peace and stability in the Balkans unless they are lifted soon.

Kontic stressed that Bulgaria is willing to help us and that it has demanded permission from the sanctions committee permission to export to Yugoslavia 50,000 tonnes of oil, the same amount of diesel, and 4,000 tonnes of gas. Bulgaria is, however, willing to support others and their initiatives leading to the lifting of sanctions rather than to "expose" itself on the same course, Kontic said.

The federal premier said that Bulgaria was asked to interpret Yugoslavia's policy of peacefully resolving all conflicts in the territory of the former Yugoslavia peacefully and to convey Yugoslavia's desire to be fully reintegrated into the world community.

### Oil, Gas Offered as Aid

*LD0512152593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1433 GMT 5 Dec 93*

[Text] Sofia, Dec 5 (TANJUG)—Bulgaria is ready to deliver to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 50,000 tonnes of each heating oil and diesel fuel, and four million cubic meters of natural gas as humanitarian aid, it was announced in Sofia on Sunday, after the official Bulgarian-Yugoslav talks. The two delegations were headed by Prime Ministers Radoje Kontic of Yugoslavia and Luben Berov of Bulgaria.

The humanitarian deliveries will be made the moment they are approved by the U.N. sanctions committee. The U.N. Security Council introduced samctions against Yugoslavia in late May last year because of Yugoslavia's alleged involvement in the civil war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The communique on the Kontic-Berov talks said that Yugoslavia had agreed with the opening of a corridor across its territory for the transporation of Bulgarian goods to the European Union markets.

The Yugoslav and Bulgarian prime ministers agreed that an inter- state commission for the development of bilateral cooperation be founded since the cooperation was far below the actual possibilities of the two national economies. The two countries plan also to develop border-region trade.

Kontic on Sunday ended the visit to Bulgaria and returned home.

### Transport Corridor Proposal Viewed

*LD0512174193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1722 GMT 5 Dec 93*

[Text] Sofia, Dec 5 (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is willing to agree to Sofia's proposal for opening a corridor through Yugoslavia to enable Bulgaria to transport goods for the European markets but on condition that this does not threaten this country's integrity in any way, Zarko Katic, a member of the Yugoslav delegation and Serbian transport minister, said here on Sunday.

The Yugoslav delegation, headed by Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, ended its official visit to Sofia on Sunday.

The U.N. Sanctions Committee is still considering Bulgaria's proposal that this country transports goods through Yugoslavia in convoys made up of 20 or more vehicles and escorted by the United Nations.

Yugoslavia is unwilling to allow the escorts of the Bulgarian convoys to include the members of countries which had fought in its territory and is opposed to them being armed, Katic told TANJUG following talks with Bulgarian Transport and Communications Minister Kiril Ermenkov.

"Our roads, air space, railways and rivers are open to all," he said and added that "the fact that some countries are respecting the U.N. Security Council sanctions at their own expense, is a completely different matter."

"Our Bulgarian friends are asking to be permitted to transport goods, and the Yugoslav roads are open to them without any limitations and with the full traffic safety," he said.

### Talks Described as 'Positive'

*LD0412152193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1404 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[Text] Sofia, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—Lyuben Berov and Radoje Kontic, prime ministers of Bulgaria and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] respectively, described as positive today's talks between the two countries' delegations in the Bojana residence in Sofia, which lasted for two hours .

Asked by a TANJUG reporter whether Bulgaria will propose the lifting of sanctions, Prime Minister Berov said that Sofia supports every proposal to lift the sanctions against, as he said, the new Yugoslavia, especially if the initiative comes from the three states—Greece, Romania, and Bulgaria.

Bulgaria had to endorse the sanctions imposed by the Security Council through Resolution 820, but it did this with great difficulties, despite the fact that it knew that the sanctions were imposed against a friendly, neighboring country, Berov told the TANJUG reporter.

The sanctions are detrimental to Bulgaria, too, he said. We have been harmed without being guilty. He also said that the opening of a transit corridor through Yugoslavia was discussed today. Your country, Berov stressed, has nothing against this proposal. However, it is very important for us to have access to western markets, that is, to the European Union.

Berov claimed that the meeting was held at the request of the Yugoslav side. The meeting with the Yugoslav prime minister had been postponed in recent months due to the complex international situation. Originally, we were to go to Yugoslavia, Berov said, but we rejected the proposal because of the forthcoming elections in the Republic of Serbia. The visit could have been interpreted as Bulgaria lending support to one or the other side, and as meddling in Yugoslavia's internal affairs. Therefore, Kontic was our guest. I hope that we will visit your country soon, Berov said.

Bulgaria is not interested in seeing relations in the former Yugoslavia deteriorate further. We want to live in peace as neighbors. We will do everything to ease the sanctions because they are adversely affecting Bulgaria too, Prime Minister Berov stressed.

Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic said that they discussed bilateral relations. The Security Council sanctions are a major obstacle to our cooperation. We are convinced, he said, that the Security Council sanctions against Yugoslavia will soon be lifted or relaxed, and we have agreed to take all measures now for our economies cooperate normally when the sanctions are lifted.

In the framework of bilateral cooperation, we also discussed the position of the Bulgarian minority in Yugoslavia, Kontic said. It was established that Yugoslavia adheres to the highest CSCE standards in relation to the Bulgarian, as well as all other minorities.

According to Kontic, they also discussed Sofia's humanitarian aid. We are grateful to Bulgaria for their assistance so far, especially for the idea of easing the sanctions. "We would be pleased for Bulgaria to be a faithful interpreter of our commitments to a peaceful political settlement of all issues connected with solving the Yugoslav crisis, and the initiator of the FRY's return to [words indistinct].

### Foundation for Future Relations

*AU0412182893 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[Text] Our correspondent Kalina Stancheva reports on the unofficial working meeting between Prime Minister Lyuben Berov and FRY Prime Minister Radoje Kontic that took place today at the Boyana Residence.

[Stancheva] Dr. Kontic described the talks as frank, friendly, and constructive. The results fully justify his expectations, he said.

Professor Berov described the meeting as a very useful one between neighbors, at which bilateral relations received the greatest attention. Those relations have been reduced to humanitarian aid since the introduction of the sanctions. Prime Minister Kontic thanked Berov for the humanitarian aid and expressed his total understanding of the Bulgarian position on observing the embargo resolutions. He was assured by Professor Berov that this decision was not easily adopted.

Both sides expressed the opinion that today's talks will serve as the foundation for the future booming of Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations once the embargo obstacles are eliminated. This expression was used by Dr. Kontic.

Announcing that Bulgaria holds a top place in FRY's foreign economic priorities, he proposed that a workng group prepare plans and drafts on economic cooperation that should be implemented without any delay once the embargo is lifted. Both governmental leaders expressed the hope that this will be soon.

Dr. Kontic expressed his thanks for the readiness expressed by the Bulgarian prime minister to support an initiative on easing or eliminating the embargo restrictions. This initiative should be proposed by other countries in the region. Dr. Kontic categorically supported the Bulgarian demand for a transit route through Serbia within the framework of controlled convoys, as long as the requirements of the Sanctions Committee do not violate Yugoslavia's sovereignty.

In addition to stressing the fact that the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has been going on now for two years, is a shameful, Middle Age, and ethnic conflict, the

Bulgarian prime minister pointed out that Bulgaria is vitally interested in rapidly resolving the conflict. The economic consequences already could destabilize our country, which so far has suffered a loss of $3.2 billion as a result of introducing the embargo. This does not include the losses suffered by the private sector, Mr. Berov said.

Both prime ministers expressed the opinion that the establishment of alliances and groups is not a healthy phenomenon and does not serve the interests of any side in the Balkans.

Sofia should not be concerned by the good relations between Belgrade and Athens, Dr. Kontic said an hour ago at his news conference. He confirmed the position expressed at the Boyana Residence meeting—namely, that the FRY has no territorial claims toward any former Yugoslav Republics or its neighbors. Since the Bulgarian side especially stressed that it greatly values Macedonia's integrity and sovereignty and inquired about the new Yugoslavia's position on that matter, Dr. Kontic said in a firm and univocal manner:

There is absolutely no danger for Macedonia from the FRY side, said Prime Minister Kontic. This, as we understood it, will be one of the topics of tomorrow's talk between Prime Minister Berov and the prime minister of the new Yugoslavia. This will be their final meeting, the conclusion of this unofficial meeting.

### 'Unscheduled Meeting' Held

*LD0512145493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1325 GMT 5 Dec 93*

[Text] Sofia, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—Bulgarian Prime Minister Lyuben Berov and Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic had a 60-minute tete-a-tete meeting in Sofia today.

The unscheduled meeting took place at the request of the Bulgarian prime minister, TANJUG learned from Yugoslav delegation circles. Among other things, Berov and Kontic discussed how Bulgaria and Yugoslavia could implement the agreements on bilateral cooperation — signed yesterday.

Prime Minister Kontic left for Yugoslavia after the meeting. High-ranking officials in the Bulgarian Government and the Yugoslav ambassador in Sofia, Rados Smiljkovic [name and title as received], accompanied Kontic to the Bulgarian-Yugoslav border.

### Kontic Ends Visit

*AU0512211093 Sofia BTA in English 1826 GMT 5 Dec 93*

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, December 5 (BTA)—Prime Minister Radoje Kontic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, who made an informal visit here and met with Bulgarian Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, today left this country. We achieved the goals of the visit, Mr. Kontic said in Nis upon his return from Bulgaria, according to TANJUG, the Yugoslav news agency.

### Zhelev Departs on Official Visit to Israel

*AU0512144293 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 5 Dec 93*

[Text] On 5 December President Zhelyu Zhelev departed on a three-day official visit to Israel. He is accompanied by Petur Kornazhev, minister of justice; Khristo Totev, minister of construction; Stanislav Daskalov, minister of foreign affairs; and Snezhana Botusharova and Yordan Shkolagerski, deputy chairmen of the National Assembly.

This is the first visit of a Bulgarian head of state to Israel. It is expected that the visit will end with the signing of an agreement on the mutual protection of investments, an agreement on cooperation in agriculture, and an agreement on easing the visa regime.

During his visit to Israel Dr. Zhelev will meet President Ezer Weizman, Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin, Parliament Chairman Shevah Weiss, and Palestinian representatives.

The Bulgarian president will speak at the Israeli Parliament and will meet with representatives of the almost 50,000 former Bulgarian Jews, now living in Israel.

On behalf of Bulgarian Patriarch Maksim Dr. Zhelev will hand Jerusalem Patriarch Theodorus an icon of St. Ivan Rilski, and will plant a tree in a forest near Jerusalem.

### Kozloduy's Sixth Reactor Switched Off

*AU0412181293 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[Text] The sixth reactor of the Kozloduy Nuclear Plant was switched off today at 1808 [1608 GMT], Yordanka Stoyanova, head of the Public Relations Department, informed BTA.

The reactor was switched off in accordance with the technical regulations and safety rules. A flange leak [propusk] was discovered in one of the channels of the reactor's control system. The reactor will undergo repairs until the end of next week.

### 'Around the Clock' Repair Efforts

*AU0512163193 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 5 Dec 93*

[Text] The repair of the Kozloduy Nuclear Plant's sixth reactor continues around the clock. The reactor was switched off because of a defect in the first circuit auxiliary system, which services the reactor's section [otdelenie]. According to Engineer Kozma Kuzmanov, director of the Kozloduy Nuclear Plant, the repair is

expected to be completed by the end of the week, when the reactor again will be connected to the country's power supply system.

### Miners Union Declares National Strike

*AU0612131493 Sofia BTA in English 1249 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Sofia, December 6 (BTA)—Early this morning the ore-miners affiliated to the Miners Federation with the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (KNSB), one of the two major trade union amalgamations in this country, declared national strike. This is their first protest action staged by the KNSB alone, KNSB President Krustyu Petkov said. This is the sixth miners' strike since 1989. They demand a programme for the restructuring of ore- mining financially provided for by the government and insist on being paid their wages due for several months now.

Although the strike was scheduled for today, part of the miners started protest actions already a week ago. Six of the miners, who went on strike remaining in the pits, are still there refusing to come out despite the negotiations held. Yesterday a medical team took one of the strikers out because of his poor state of health.

According to data released by the KNSB Strike Committee, over 17,000 miners are on strike at the moment. The Strike Committee says that members of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, the other major trade union amalgamation, have also joined the strike, although the Podkrepa strike is scheduled for December 13.

38,000 coal-industry workers are expected to support the miners staging protests actions which doctors and teachers will also join. KNSB leader Krustyu Petkov, who cut short his visit to great Britain and returned to Bulgaria yesterday, described the miners' protest as "a strike of despair."

The Council of Ministers is expected to consider the problems of ore-mining at today's meeting. The ministers will discuss the restructuring and financing of the ore-mining industry as well. The minister of industry is expected to ask for 240 million leva for this purpose. The state will have to raise another 180 million leva to settle its debt to the miners.

### Black Sea Ministers To Meet in Sofia 9 Dec

*AU0612144893 Sofia BTA in English 1101 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Sofia, December 3 (BTA)—"The development of Black Sea Economic Cooperation so far shows that the stage of shaping the structural and procedural framework of cooperation, of information exchange is coming to an end and the initiative will already go ahead with development and implementation of specific projects," Deputy Foreign Minister Dimitur Ikonomov told a news conference here today. Mr. Ikonomov heads an interagency coordination group on Bulgaria's participation in Black Sea Economic Cooperation. Between June and December 1993, Bulgaria holds the rotating presidency of the group.

On December 9, Sofia will host the third meeting of the foreign ministers of Black Sea Economic Cooperation, who will review the progress of the cooperation process in the last six months. They are also expected to fix a headquarters for the Black Sea Bank for Trade and Development, choosing between three candidates: Sofia, Istanbul and Thessaloniki, and to admit new observers to the group.

Black Sea Economic Cooperation was set up on the initiative of Turkey which in 1990 suggested a project for a "region of economic cooperation between the Black Sea states." At a summit in Istanbul in 1992, the heads of state or government of Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Turkey and Ukraine signed a Declaration on Black Sea Economic Cooperation. Poland, Tunisia and the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Business Council (an association of private businessmen from the participating countries) hold an observer status with the group.

A decision to set up a Parliamentary Assembly of Black Sea Economic Cooperation was made in February 1993 on the initiative of Turkey and Russia. Bulgaria and Greece do not participate in this project. Bulgaria believes that for the time being it is anticipatory to build multilateral regional forms of cooperation outside the scope of the June 1992 declaration on Black Sea Economic Cooperation.

### Ethnic Turkish Leader Requests Asylum in U.S.

*AU0612093993 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 1 Dec 93 p 1*

[DUMA PRESS report: "Adem Kenan Requests Asylum in United States"]

[Text] We request from you and through you from the entire American democratic public a political asylum in your great and democratic state, until the Bulgarian authorities recognize us as a Turkish national minority in Bulgaria. This is a part of the official request of the Central Coordinating Council of the unrecognized Turkish Democratic Party, addressed "through the U.S. Ambassador in Sofia, Mr. William Montgomery, to Bill Clinton, U.S. President."

The letter specifies that the decision to request the asylum was adopted on 28 November 1993 by the first illegal meeting of the Turkish Democratic Party Central Coordinating Council. The request is signed by Adem Kenan, chairman of the party, his deputy, Emin Khamdi, Aydzhan Kutchu, chairman of the party's Ethics Committee, and by five additional members.

The request informs the U.S. President that the official documents of the party have been submitted to the U.S.

Embassy in Sofia, and that those documents reveal the truth about the bankruptcy of the Bulgarian democracy. It points out the criminal political activity of the Bulgarian leaders, who created an organization called the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS], and which consists of Communists and former State Security members.

### Tanev Blames SDS for State of Agriculture

*AU0212183893 Sofia PARI in Bulgarian 29 Nov 93 p 5*

[Interview with Agriculture Minister Georgi Tanev by Vutko Vutev; place and date not given: "We Were in the Past, and Will Remain a Major Agricultural State"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Vutev] What would you say about the aid from Western countries to Bulgaria? In particular, what is your assessment of the help given under the PHARE [Economic and Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program?

[Tanev] The aid being provided under the PHARE program is bilateral. They are granting us money to pay their own specialists. In fact, many things are unclear regarding this. In Bulgaria, the foreign aid started arriving by two routes. The first was through the so-called multinational interests. However, these multinational interests had no interest in us remaining a major arms producer and a major agricultural producer, and therefore sent Aleks Aleksiev [former adviser of ex-Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov] here. I think that these multinational interests assessed very well the low intellect of the ruling team in 1992 [Filip Dimitrov cabinet], and sent several people to explain to them what had to be done, and these people did in fact do so. I say this because, you know, the order issued from 134 Rakovski Street [Union of Democratic Forces headquarters] before 15 February 1993 for not a single animal to remain alive in our livestock herds was no accident, it was not the result of ignorance. This constituted total war upon agriculture, not only on the labor cooperative farms. Was it an accident that the glass of our hothouses was shattered and the country flooded with Greek tomatoes? Was it an accident that the apple orchards in Plovdiv were cut down and the market saturated with apples from our neighbors? Was it an accident that the hoses were slashed and that the liquidation councils imported from Israel, at a cost of millions of dollars, hoses to use in sprinkler systems for vineyards? No, these were not accidents. The question then arises, whose interests did the government of the time protect? Naturally, it was not Bulgarian interests. Now, I am amazed by their gall when I see them now in parliament demonstrating their concern for social policy, after they were the ones who destroyed the foundation of this policy.

[Vutev] What is the second way in which foreign aid arrives?

[Tanev] The second way is through the PHARE Program. In essence, the European Community wants to apply this program to help us build up our market structures. In my view, the only group that is working well is the one that is working on the project for science, education, and consultation work. The rest of the PHARE Program is operating according a memorandum signed by [former Finance Minister] Ivan Kostov. I definitely must say that this memorandum was signed by the Bulgarian side with a pen, but with no signs of a brain. It is very disadvantageous for us. Because of it, the previous PHARE representative managed to do quite a number of strange things. He allowed certain winners to appear in some strange auctions, some strange companies to be formed, and last, but not least, for 7 million ECU to remain unutilized in the bank for three years now. Now, the new PHARE supervisors dealing with agriculture are very sensible people, and the team even includes a Bulgarian supervisor.

[Vutev] What will become of the 7 million ECU in the final event?

[Tanev] I have proposed to the cabinet that the money should be handed to the Agriculture Fund. It is my dream to amass about 3 of 4 billion [leva] in this fund so that we do not have to ask for laws to be adopted every season on credits to finance agriculture.

[Vutev] Mr. Tanev, what are the most urgent tasks that you consider should be tackled to stop the process of disintegration in agriculture?

[Tanev] The first urgent question is to settle the bad debts. We cannot achieve anything at all until we resolve this problem. Another immediate problem to save our pedigree livestock herds and seed producing enterprises, and also to save Bulgarian agricultural science. The next, but no less important task is to produce food for the population.

[Vutev] What are the prospects for resolving the bad debts problem?

[Tanev] The law has been submitted to the National Assembly. If it is not adopted, we will continue to import Greek salami, low- quality farm products from Turkey, corn stalks from Italy, and wafer biscuits from Normandy. [passage omitted]

### Zhelev Admits 'Reservations' on Berov's Actions

*AU0312152693 Sofia BTA in English 1401 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Sofia, December 3 (BTA)—Today's STANDART NEWS, a private daily, runs an interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev, who discusses his reasons for not asking extraordinary powers from parliament, his attitude to the monarchy, and other matters. The interview was granted on Wednesday 1 December, immediately after which the president said in a BBC interview that in the period of transition from a totalitarian system to a market economy, all former socialist countries should better be presidential republics.

"I treat certain actions of Prime Minister Lyuben Berov with respect, but I have some very serious reservations about others," Dr. Zhelev says, asked whether he is disappointed with the cabinet. Before his election to the prime ministership at the end of last year, Prof. Berov was the president's economic advisor. Dr Zhelev says that in its nearly one-year tenure, Prime Minister Berov managed to do two very important things: to preserve social peace and the dialogue with the trade unions. On the negative side, the president says, the cabinet did not have enough political will to enforce its programme. "It reckoned too much with the demands and wishes of individual parliamentary factions, of the trade unions and other groups," President Zhelev says.

According to the Bulgarian head of state, the two top priorities in the programme of the incumbent cabinet, privatization and land reform, could have made considerable progress. The president acknowledges that part of the cabinet's actions are blocked by parliament.

"I would not ask for extraordinary powers from parliament, because this would immediately trigger suspicions and allegations that I want to introduce presidential rule or impose a dictatorship," Dr. Zhelev says, asked by his interviewer whether he was planning to seek extraordinary powers. "I don't think that the president's having extraordinary powers is what matters in Bulgaria now. A strong executive, a strong government is much more indispensable," Dr. Zhelev says further on.

The Bulgarian president observes that new elections will hardly result in a better parliament and that the incumbent parliament can also support a strong government. It will only take the politicians' good will, Dr. Zhelev says. He declined to answer a question whether Filip Dimitrov's presence at the head of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) could prove a serious obstacle to parliamentary life. "The right track for the SDS is to muster courage and extend its contacts with everybody in Bulgaria who want their country to have democracy and a market economy," President Zhelev says.

The Bulgarian head of state draws a monthly salary of 19,380 leva (1 U.S. dollar now exchanges for 32 leva), it emerges from the interview. Dr Zhelev contributes 6,300 leva a month to the Sirak (orphan) Foundation, and often provides financial assistance to his retired friends.

Asked whether he believed that economic difficulties and rampant crime could lead to the introduction of military rule, the president says there are no grounds to expect military rule in Bulgaria. "Even if developments in the country take a drastic turn or for some other reasons it comes to the imposition of a state of emergency or martial law, I do not conceive of this situation as martial law," the Bulgarian president says, specifying that these measures are introduced when the outbreak of a civil war has to be prevented.

## Government Moves To Increase Budget Deficit

*AU0212210793 Sofia BTA in English 1801 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] Sofia, December 2 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers today decided to move in parliament a bill of amendments to the 1993 National Budget Act, asking to increase the budget deficit figure, a representative of the Government Press Office said after a closed-door cabinet sitting. He said the money was needed to meet social commitments only and declined to announce figures.

The 1993 National Budget Act projected the deficit at 8 percent of the GDP. This figure was reached in late October. Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov then said he would not ask for raising the deficit. In a memo to the cabinet, however, he pointed out only 80 percent of revenues will be collected and the cabinet discussed spending cuts. National Statistics Institute data on the first nine months of 1993 show that the GDP will hardly reach the projected 350 billion leva, putting it at about 270 billion leva. In the draft 1994 national budget law, approved this week, the government projected next year's deficit at 6.5 percent, annual inflation at 45 percent and the GDP at 500 billion leva.

Today's government motion was described as a timely step by Bulgarian Socialist Party leader Zhan Videnov, who met with Prime Minister Lyuben Berov right after the cabinet meeting. He said the Socialists will probably back the cabinet request to raise the deficit, by between 4 and 7 billion leva.

The IMF early this year saw the projected 8 percent deficit figure as too high, declining to sign a new standby arrangement with Bulgaria. The IMF mission then insisted on finding a way to increase revenues. IMF mission leader for Bulgaria Russel Kincaid arrived in Sofia on Sunday for new talks.

## Cabinet Sets Up Renewable Privatization Fund

*AU0212190893 Sofia BTA in English 1606 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] Sofia, December 2 (BTA)—The cabinet today set up a renewable privatization fund with the Privatization Agency. Funds will be raised mostly from international financial institutions.

The Council of Ministers approved a bill of amendments to the Wines Act. The amendments, necessitated by the transition to a market economy, apply to the production of and trade in wine, alcoholic drinks and by-products subject to mandatory laboratory control. The Council of Ministers will set up a body to control wines and alcoholic drinks and regulate production and trade.

The cabinet heard a report by Industry Minister Rumen Bikov on the miners' problems. At its next meeting the cabinet will take a decision on the appropriation of funds for encouraging production in the mining industry.

The cabinet approved a draft agreement on reciprocal investment protection between Bulgaria and Slovakia. It appointed honorary consuls to Nice, Paul Fourque, and Marseilles, Luc Sanger, both of them French.

The Council of Ministers gave its assent to the participation of a Bulgarian delegation headed by Foreign Minister Stanislav Daskalov in a meeting of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization, to be held in Sofia on December 9. It was decided that Bulgaria should apply for full membership in the Agency for Cultural and Technological Cooperation at the Francophone meeting in Mali in early December.

Bulgaria will join the Academic Mobility Programme for Central and Eastern Europe that will be adopted in Budapest on December 8.

## Hodja Attack at Conference Benefits Dogan

*AU0612141593 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 1 Dec 93 p 6*

[Article by Yanora Grigorova and Boyka Bashlieva: "Mehmed Hodja Could Turn Out To Be Part of Dogan's Strategy"]

[Excerpts] Only a few major events have occurred during the four years since the establishment of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS]. They include the publication of the "notorious list" [collaborators of the former State Security], Dogan's meeting with the king, the swing to the left, Dogan's wedding, and the swing to the right.

If we use one of Dogan's favorite expressions—none of those events could be defined as a stratagem. In all these cases the famous dialectics expert, who likes to boast that he always thinks several moves in advance, was actually forced by events to act. [passage omitted]

Now we are witnessing the antithesis of everything that has taken place until today. Suddenly, a highranking DPS member has not only rebelled against the leadership, but this has become known by all. Concealed conflicts have suddenly emerged on the surface, while Mehmed Hodja's statement at the DPS national conference essentially included criticism of almost everything within the DPS. The criticism was so categorical that it evokes a certain doubt. [passage omitted]

Mehmed Hodja's rebellion could be a sincere one. However, he has proved to be invaluable to Dogan himself, who benefited so much from Hodja's rebellion that one begins to wonder whether Dogan himself did not organize the rebellion as a stratagem, so to speak.

What did Hodja attack and what did he achieve by his attack?

He attacked:

—the alliance with the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP];

—the fact that overt supporters of the ethnic revival process remain in key posts in the power departments;

—the unwillingness to achieve the status of a national minority;

—the luxurious life of the DPS leaders, their parties and fancy cars;

—and Dogan's meeting with Todor Zhivkov.

He achieved:

Nothing, or almost nothing—for the time being. The "alliance" with the BSP will continue until the DPS gains the role of the first violin in an eventual new duet with the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. The fate of the participants in the revival process will depend on this. In any event the present membership of the National Assembly will not adopt any decision on personal files. The National Assembly will dissolve itself prior to adopting such a decision. Even if it adopts a decision to declassify them, there will be nothing to declassify. Authentic personal files do not exist any longer. The luxurious life, parties, and fancy cars of the leaders remain. No one volunteered to replace his Chrysler with a Moskvitch.

At the same time Hodja's attack was not completely devoid of any results. It showed that the DPS freely and democratically accepts different ideas. Thus, whoever does not like Dogan can follow Hodja, but remain in the DPS. This attracts voters who have been disappointed by DPS policy, and keeps them within the movement, without alienating people who remain loyal to Dogan. Thus you can have your cake and eat it.

Hodja's action and the radical ideas of Adem Kenan and Nedim Gendzhev have allowed the present DPS leaders to appear as moderate and civilized people who reject fundamentalism, or in other words—the lesser of two evils. [passage omitted]

## Admiral Wants 'Small, Modern Navy'

*AU0412195293 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 29 Nov 93 pp 1, 2*

[Interview with Navy Commander Vice Admiral Ventseslav Velkov by Captain Rumen Todorov; place and date not given: "What We Need Is a Small, Modern Navy With Enterprising Professionals on the Bridge"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Todorov] How do you plan to further consolidate the new organization of continuous combat training at home base and at sea?

[Velkov] I think that our combat training plans for the next period are more precise. We evaluated the pluses and certain minuses of the new training system and, I believe, made sensible adjustments. One very important aspect of the training of commanders is to encourage greater independence and display of initiative, combined with a greater sense of responsibility for their

actions. We will try to develop commanders with high intellectual and professional management qualities. We will pay more attention to one important component of professionalism, namely discipline, by which I mean both self-discipline and the ability to cultivate discipline in others. The high percentage of professionals in the navy—they now make up 58 percent of our strength—is also having a positive effect.

[Todorov] The new organization has also revealed certain weaknesses, especially at the lower levels of command. How do you intend to overcome these?

[Velkov] The weaknesses do not stem from the new organization itself but from its incorrect application. For example, an independently thinking commander cannot wait for a special order to tighten up discipline and good order on his ship. He should organize the fulfillment of the ship's regulations himself but, unfortunately, not all of them are doing this. For this reason, we had to include more detailed instructions in the order for organizing the new training year. [passage omitted]

[Todorov] The delay in passing the Defense and Armed Forces Act has led to tangible cadre problems in the navy. How are you compensating for the shortfall in command staff, especially on ships and in the divisional ship commands?

[Velkov] This is not only due delay in passing the law. Negative consequences have also arisen from the cadre policy in the past, as well as from the present crisis. In the last two years, only 20 percent of the graduates from the higher naval schools have entered the navy on their own wish.

However, we now see a gleam of hope, because 12 young officers have submitted requests to return to the fleet, and we expect to welcome them after the New Year. We plan to appoint reserve officers who have completed higher education in suitable subjects to certain engineering posts. We are also using certain outstanding midshipmen in officers' posts. [passage omitted]

[Todorov] Do you think that the morale of the naval sailors has risen as a result of what you have done in recent years?

[Velkov] Yes, it certainly has, but many things still remain to be done. I would like to see a fleet with a clearly defined future. We do have a concept for the future, which is something new. We now have to implement in practice the maxim of "a small but modern navy." This is difficult but not impossible. We have prepared a proposal for our shipyards to construct a new basic fighting ship for the navy, of the corvette class.

[Todorov] What good wishes would you send to the navy's officers and men for the new training year?

[Velkov] Courage, optimism, ambition to develop their professionalism, and, of course, personal happiness and seven feet under the keel!

### Commentary on Russia Regaining 'Influence'

*AU0312131493 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 2 Dec 93 p 9*

[Jiri Doubrava commentary: "The Kremlin Would Like To Have Influence Where It Used To Have It"]

[Text] Here are some questions concerning Russia's position on the admission of some Central European countries into NATO:

Why does Yeltsin in Warsaw and Prague say "a" but not "b"? Why is Russia taking such an intense interest in Eastern Europe issues when it has enough problems of its own? Is there any hope that one day Russia will resolve not to pay attention to this region? The answers are partially contained in these questions. Russia's perspective is different from ours, it will always be different, and it would only be possible to alter this situation by us or them moving somewhere else.

In Warsaw, and the following day in Prague, Yeltsin said that the admission of Poland and the Czech Republic into pan-European structures is their business. The mistake was that he did not point out a fundamental fact—that Russia will not like this. He should do so, and his political difficulties at home and his misunderstandings with those whom he addressed during his visits would evaporate. The consequences of the whole affair have stemmed from this.

Why does Russia not pay attention to itself? It is banking on one day again becoming the superpower that it once was. It has already begun to think about the years and decades ahead. It would like to have influence where it used to have it.

Is there hope that Russia will change this way of thinking? Even if there were a super-democratic regime there, it is impossible to imagine that it would not be interested in what is going in its own backyard. It is one of the traits of powers that they want to involve themselves in the affairs of their small neighbors and that they select all possible means to do this. This is not a pleasant thing to say. Unfortunately, we have enough examples of this from our history.

Radio Free Europe recently broadcast a very interesting and comprehensive interview between Lida Rakusanova and Yefim Fistejn, her colleague from Radio Liberty (it broadcasts to Russia and the other CIS states). Among other things, Fistejn says: "Of course, the Czech Republic must get into NATO as soon as possible. But the fundamental justification... is absolutely false. No Russian threat hangs over the West, because Russia is now considered to be a historical ally of the West in the struggle between north and south, against ethnic conflicts, if you like against the arrival of other civilizations in Europe. In this sense, the Czech Republic must find its place."

This is a contentious viewpoint, but it makes one think. It makes one wonder if the inhabitants of Central Europe are not looking at the whole issue through different eyes from other actors who have the entire globe in front of them.

### Uhde Cited on FRG Talks on Sudeten Germans

*AU0312172593 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 2 Dec 93 p 3*

[Interview with Chamber of Deputies Chairman Milan Uhde by Jan Stetka and Martina Hladikova in Prague on 1 December: "I Have Informed the Prime Minister, I Do Not Miss the President's Statement"]

[Text] [DENNI TELEGRAF] You returned from a visit to Germany yesterday. Could you please tell us about your meeting with Bundestag President Rita Suessmuth on Monday [29 November]?

[Uhde] I will now divulge to you something that I plan to present to deputies in a more comprehensive report in a couple of days. During my talks with the Bundestag president, in which I tried to explain how painful people in our country feel about the FRG's negative stand on negotiations concerning compensation for Czech victims of Nazism, Mrs. Suessmuth responded with a quite surprising proposal. In her opinion, we should discuss this issue at the parliamentary level and could link it with compensation for Sudeten Germans. I perceived this as a certain possibility but, during the first break in our talks, Rita Suessmuth immediately informed correspondents about it as though it were a ready proposal. Our delegation could not agree with that. I immediately drew Mrs. Suessmuth's attention to the fact that interparliamentary talks on these issues were **absolutely out of the question** and that the two matters could not be linked at all. One of them concerns the consequences and results of war, about which nothing can be done, and the other matter concerns compensation for war victims. The FRG has already awarded compensation to all other afflicted nations; only we have been left out.

[DENNI TELEGRAF] Did you discuss the issue of compensation with other German deputies?

[Uhde] On the same night, our delegation met for consultations and assessed the situation that had arisen. We reached the conclusion that an unequivocal reaction on our part was needed, one that could not be distorted. We spoke with the chairmen of the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] and FDP [Free Democratic Party of Germany] parliamentary groups and with the state minister of foreign affairs. The next morning, during talks with other Bundestag deputies, the proposal was made on the German side that an initiative group [iniciativni skupina] of Czech deputies be set up as a counterpart to an equivalent German group. We clearly replied that Czech deputies would have to defend the Czech position and collect positive points in such a dialogue. However, in our opinion, no positive points are to be gained in this field. **So far there exists no indication** that something is changing for the better or moving ahead in this regard.

[DENNI TELEGRAF] What is the position of the Sudeten German leader Franz Neubauer among the German deputies?

[Uhde] We were assured that 550 of the 667 Bundestag deputies are absolutely convinced that the issues raised by Mr. Neubauer are not worth being discussed at all. This fact should, however, be stated by some German representative on Czech soil because we would need very much to hear this. When coming from our representatives, this information does not sound convincing because it is only from hearsay.

[DENNI TELEGRAF] Given these circumstances, did your visit serve any purpose?

[Uhde] It quite definitely did. It contributed to the clarification of viewpoints and allowed us to emphasize that no such proposals are acceptable to us. There is unity on the Czech side on this point. I must stress that I have not lost my faith in Germany. One thing is that, apparently, the Germans do not want to meet us halfway and the other thing is that we cannot abandon our position and consider further steps. **Surely, no steps should be taken that would lead to some kind of escalation.** Formally, they all treated us in a very friendly way and with a smile. I believe that the proposal, first made by Prime Minister Klaus, that we might consider compensating Czech victims from Czech money, is no concession on our part but rather a moral lesson.

[DENNI TELEGRAF] Should the talks keep dragging out, is there the danger that soon there will be no one left on our side to compensate?

[Uhde] That is precisely the problem. The people concerned are very old and, regrettably, they are dying fast. I have reports showing that some 200 of them have died just in the last couple of weeks. I am confident, however, that there will be compensation one day. Prime Minister Klaus' idea implies, among other things, that we will indemnify our damages ourselves. And if the German side is of the opinion that there are also some injured parties on their side, let it compensate them and let us not return to that issue any more.

[DENNI TELEGRAF] Is there any hope of further dialogue with the German side yielding any success before the German elections?

[Uhde] Dialogue is always useful, even if it only repeats what has already been said, and even if it repeats it using some stronger words. The Foreign Affairs Committee of the Czech Parliament will visit Germany in January 1994. Of course, it is to be expected that all kinds of issues will be raised in discussions and that is good, I believe. Neighbors should not allow a moment to arise when they do not communicate. Even our trip was not superfluous; one just should not harbor any illusions. We will not achieve anything by putting our foot down and by diplomatic screaming.

[DENNI TELEGRAF] The prime minister is applauding your statement, while the president is silent. Is this not another instance of disharmony in foreign policy?

[Uhde] I think I understand it. President Havel does not avail himself of detailed information, and any further involvement [vstup] on his part could cause considerable inconvenience. Prime Minister Klaus let himself be informed by me first thing yesterday morning and I gave him a similarly exhaustive briefing.

[DENNI TELEGRAF] The president did not ask you?

[Uhde] He has not asked me so far and I realize that he does not want to become involved as a commentator in interparliamentary talks in a matter that he does not know in detail. Moreover, he has already spoken about the above issue on several occasions. I do not miss his statement at all.

[DENNI TELEGRAF] Do you know when the Czech Government will compensate Czech war victims?

[Uhde] Not yet, but the end of this year represents a certain limit. A decision on this matter should be made by then.

### Commentary on Visit by Bundestag Deputies

*AU0312145693 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 2 Dec 93 p 3*

[Josef Landergott commentary: "The Bonn Shock"]

[Text] Foreign visits by parliament representatives usually do not become the center of media attention. The work of the foreign committees stands in the shadow of other official representatives of the country, as is the government, specific ministers, and the president of the republic. The visit to Bonn by a group of representatives from the Chamber of Deputies, led by Parliament Chairman Milan Uhde, appeared to be just such an inconspicuous, albeit useful endeavor. The run-of-the-mill visit to Bundestag has turned, however, into a shock for Czech foreign policy.

The Foreign Committees of both parliaments agreed on the organization of so-called "getting-to-know-each-other" talks without a prepared agenda. At the same time, Rita Suessmuth (Christian Democratic Union), Bundestag president, called for a dialogue between the Czech and German parliaments on reparations for the Czech victims of Nazi occupation, while emphasizing that the issue of compensation for the Czech side cannot be separated from the discussion on the Sudeten Germans. She spelled it out when stating: "If the two wrongs are completely separated, an accord will never be reached."

The Bundestag president is famous for her liberal ideas, which brought her into a certain intraparty opposition against Chancellor Kohl. She belongs to the group of German politicians who do not flirt with the past. Just a week ago, during the visit by Foreign Minister Zieleniec,

she said that no restraints exists in the relations between Germany and the Czech Republic, and that both countries are successful in overcoming the points of discord from the past. Minister Zieleniec left Bonn believing that the reparation issue will not become topical prior to the German parliamentary elections in the fall of next year. Suessmuth, while confirming this idea, insisted that it is important for the deputies of both parliaments to take up the issue now. She assumes that interparliamentary talks could lead to other proposals than the spring initiative by Vaclav Havel and Helmut Kohl on some kind of a "humane gesture." The option of paying the reparations to Czech victims in advance from the Czech budget as considered by Zieleniec—and which Prime Minister Klaus apparently condones—is building on this initiative. The expenses would then be claimed from the German side.

The reaction to Rita Suessmuth's views was immediate and sharp. Milan Uhde was truly taken aback by German sincerity. He agreed to talks on a "general level," but proclaimed that for the Czech side the Sudeten German issue is closed and done with: "The question that has not been closed is the matter of reparations for the Czech victims. That, however, is not a question of a dialogue but rather concrete steps, and the ball here is in the German court." He considers—in accord with the Czech Government—the Sudeten German issue a "topic for talks between private people." Like Zieleniec before him, Uhde met in Bonn with the representatives of the parliamentary faction of the Social Democratic Party who did not in the least dissociate themselves from the stand assumed by the Bundestag president. Of course, Uhde received assurances from all German parliamentary representatives regarding the support by the Federal Republic for the Czech economic, political, and security integration into the European structures. The chairman of the Chamber of Deputies left the banks of the Rhine dazed: "The shadows of the past affect the bilateral relations to this very day," he said. Following the meeting with Deputy Foreign Minister Helmut Schaefer, he was given a parting gift of information that the German side still considers unsolved certain aspects of historical problems in the bilateral relations.

In Prague, Prime Minister Klaus thanked Uhde for his "clear and firm stand, so needed precisely on the German soil." The representatives of other Czech political parties have also definitely rejected the German stand. President Havel went even further. He announced through his spokesman that he would not comment on Rita Suessmuth's stand because that is a "parliamentary level" which he is not going to enter. Perhaps so, but it makes one wonder why the president gets involved in clashes over some cafe on the bank of the Vltava River [reference to a controversial lease of a Prague cafe].

The Czech politicians realize that the road to Europe leads through Germany. Milan Uhde may have learned that, although raised by the present opposition, the issue of a part of the former citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic is not just a question of the upcoming election campaign in Germany, an illusion of ours that disappears with the new Bonn government. The integrating Europe is not interested in clashes of this type between its member states. Europe may only be entered with a closed historical account. That applies to both sides. Because, in this instance, history is still open, it is politically very difficult to convince the direct victims of atonement. The examples of France and Germany, or the settlement of national relations in Finland testify to such a possibility. The extenuation of the Sudeten German issue is and will remain the most difficult problem for Czech domestic and foreign policies. In fact, there are no other major problems—the basic choice, i.e., Moscow or Brussels, has been made by all of us long time ago.

## Link Between Pipeline, Sudeten Issue Viewed

*AU0312144893 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 2 Dec 93 p 1*

[Adam Cerny commentary: "Two Routes"]

[Text] "The Sudeten issue is always resurrected in Czech-German relations when something is at stake." This statement was not uttered by one of the oft-quoted German politicians. It was made by Gert Pansegrau, the head of the Transalpine Oelleitung investment firm (which is responsible for the Ingolstadt-Kralupy oil pipeline).

Officially, Bavarian representatives have invariably and strongly denied, and are still denying, that the procrastination with the approval procedure for the pipeline has a political context—and has nothing whatsoever to do with the Sudeten question. True, the old memories are starting to come back. The "inauguration address" delivered by Bavarian Prime Minister Edmund Stoiber at this year's Sudeten German Days comes to mind. His comments there about the pipeline came amazingly close to a challenge to the Prague government to initiate a direct dialogue with the prime minister's audience.

Suspicious thoughts are not appropriate. It is better to look at the facts. Last September, Czech officials assured us that the first heap of earth will be dug on the oil pipeline route at the beginning of 1994 and that the pipeline will be completed by the spring of the following year at the latest.

This year's outlook is not so rosy. The ball is still in the Bavarian court. The land assembly in Munich will be the one to decide on the approval—or rejection—of the law on the so-called temporary expropriation of land from the farmers across whose property the pipeline is to run. It seems that domestic political considerations will have priority until the elections next year. And they do not give priority to neighborly relations. Attracting votes is the decisive factor. In no way should the influential farmers be alienated.

What can Prague do on this court where—despite the mutual assurances—nothing is happening? Perhaps, the best thing would be to have a look and see if there is another court. In this case, this means looking into the drawer. A plan was put away there once that was intended to bring the much needed strategic raw material to Bohemia via an alternative route, from the north. When this plan was shelved ad acta, it was claimed that the distinct advantage of the route from Ingolstadt was the speed with which this project would be completed.

In Bavaria, obstacles are piling up in the way of the entire investment. At the same time, an oil pipeline already leads from the Baltic coast to the new federal laender and it will even be expanded. If this were also to convey oil to Bohemia, it would pay off more. After all, it could be laid alongside the pipeline that already exists between the refineries in Litvinov and Leuna in Saxony.

### Czech-Slovak Business Agreement Ratified

*AU0312191593 Prague CTK in English 1547 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Prague, Dec 3 (CTK)—The Czech-Slovak Agreement on Physical and Legal Persons' Business Activities on the Territory of the Other Republic, ratification instruments to which were exchanged today, concern several hundreds of Czech business entities, Czech Justice Minister Jiri Novak said today.

He added that all necessary agreements guiding Czech-Slovak relations in the sphere of law had already been concluded.

The agreement sets easier conditions for business activities of Slovak physical and legal persons on the Czech territory and vice versa. It was signed by the two countries' justice ministers, Novak and Katarina Tothova, in Bratislava on October 29, 1993. The Czech parliament approved it on November 9.

### Commission Fails To Reach Conclusion on Border

*AU0612125093 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 4 Dec 93*

["(do)"-signed report: "The Dispute Over the Slovak Border Has Not Ended Yet"]

[Text] Stary Hrozenkov—The Czech-Slovak talks on delineating the joint Czech-Slovak borders have ended after nine months, without a positive result. In four cases, the members of the Border Commission, composed of representatives from both countries, have not reached a conclusion where the borders should go. They are the Na Kasarni area, U Sabotu na Javorniku community, Orava River region, and Sidonia village.

According to Milos Srb, chairman of the Border Commission, the matter will be dealt with by the Interior Ministries of the two countries.

### Lux: Polish Border Should Not Be Changed

*AU0312195793 Prague CTK in English 1624 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Ostrava, North Moravia, Dec 3 (CTK)—The Agriculture Ministry assumed the responsibility for solving the problems arising after the change of border with Poland in 1958, Czech Agriculture Minister and Deputy Premier Josef Lux told journalists today.

The problems arose mainly in the Tesin region and regarded some 400 hectares of land, he said.

He noted that some Czech land is owned by Poles, and vice versa. According to Lux, any change of border or territorial compensation should be out of the question. I am of the view that existing property relations of physical persons should be respected, he said.

Lux was on a working visit to the Ostrava-Karvina conurbation today.

### Havel, Slovenian Counterpart Sign Trade Pact

*LD0412133293 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[Text] Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus and Slovenian Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek today in Ljubljana signed a free trade zone agreement between the Czech Republic and Slovenia.

Prior to the signing, Vaclav Klaus spoke at an international seminar on privatization in central and eastern Europe. He said, among other things, that the Czech Republic welcomes foreign investors but added that it was not necessary to accelerate the influx of capital. According to Klaus, during the period up to the completion of privatization, massive foreign investment could in some cases disturb the macro-economic stability in the country. He also noted that, despite beliefs held by many citizens of the Czech Republic, the process of finding the actual owners would not come to an end with the conclusion of the privatization process.

### Parliament Approves Law on Consumer Taxes

*AU0312172793 Prague CTK in English 1055 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Prague, Dec 3 (CTK)—The Chamber of Deputies (Parliament) today approved an amendment to the law on consumer taxes and on regional financial organizations, increasing the tax on tobacco products, wine made from grapes produced by the wine-maker and on fuel.

The price of one cigarette will be raised by four hellers (0.16 cents) and a liter of petrol by 50 hellers. The final price increases of these products will, however, lie only with individual distributors or vendors, according to some deputies.

The tax on wine made from grapes produced by the wine-maker will be 6 crowns per liter, lower than the 7.80 crowns originally proposed.

### SDL on Coalition Treatment of Constitution

*AU0312175393 Prague CTK in English 1311 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Prague, Dec 3 (CTK)—The Czech Democratic Left Party (SDL) believes that the governing coalition parties are treating the constitution and the laws lightly, Chairman of the SDL Board for Law and Legislation Hana Matisova told journalists today.

Zdenek Masopust, SDL expert on international law, said that a crisis in legislation and in the constitution could throw into doubt the legitimacy and legal basis of a number of transformation steps. It could also cause the rights which had been gained as a result of these steps to be doubted, and this could endanger the international prestige of the Czech Republic.

SDL Chairman Josef Mecl expressed surprise at the fact that the Czech governing parties, which considered themselves conservative, did not take the constitution and the law seriously. Conservative parties in Western Europe were painstaking in sticking to the constitution and laws, he said.

Matisova also took issue with the coalition's argument that the parties which wanted a law on the larger units of local government were those who wanted to improve their position on the political scene. She said this was just as logical as the argument of the opposition that those who most wanted the senate the envisaged second house of the Czech Parliament to be created were those who wanted to hang on to at least part of their power by filling it with their candidates, because they did not believe they could hold out until the parliamentary elections.

Whenever an expedient approach to the law is tolerated in politics, the grave of democracy is being dug, Matisova said, adding that the constitution was not booty for election victory, but the ten commandments of democratic politics.

### Kocarnik Views 1994 Budget Spending, Revenues

*AU0612090893 Prague CTK in English 2147 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Prague, Dec 3 (CTK)—The draft state budget for 1994 envisages revenues and spending each to amount to almost 380 billion crowns (almost $13 billion), Deputy Premier and Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik said in parliament today.

Of the 380 billion crowns in revenues, about 335 billion will be drawn from taxes and social insurance, Kocarnik said. He added that the expected spending would be 7.5 per cent higher than this year.

The government will continue pursuing the road of reducing subsidies to enterprises which are to decrease by about 1.8 billion crowns, or more than 6 per cent against 1993, Kocarnik said.

Subsidies to agriculture will remain on this year's level and will amount to 5.1 billion crowns, while subsidies to the fund of market regulation will be lower, Kocarnik went on to say.

He stressed budgetary support for the development of business and exports. These spheres are to get through the Czech-Moravian Bank of Guarantees and Development subsidies amounting to 1.5 billion crowns, compared with this year's one billion crowns.

One of the draft budget priorities is housing. The government proposes to spend on the sphere 4.7 billion crowns from the state budget and 1.5 billion crowns from local budgets, Kocarnik said.

Part of the subsidy will be spent on contributions to low-income families in connection with the planned raising of housing rents as of January 1 and on promotion of housing construction, Kocarnik added.

### Rejects Deficit Prediction

*AU0612091093 Prague CTK in English 2322 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Prague, Dec 3 (CTK)—Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik tonight dismissed as "an outright nonsense" the opposition's prediction that the Czech Republic's budget next year would be 35 billion crowns (about $1.2 billion).

Speaking on the Czech Television station CT1 on the parliamentary debate on the draft budget for 1994, which opened today, he said the draft envisaged a balanced budget (380 billion crowns for both spending and revenue).

The loss of one billion crowns due to lower taxes will be bevelled off by the envisaged increase in customs proceeds next year, Kocarnik said.

The deputies today passed an amendment to the law on revenue tax, cutting the maximum tax from 45 to 42 per cent in legal persons and from 47 to 44 per cent in physical persons.

Kocarnik said the proceeds from customs duties could increase by 800 million to 1 billion crowns next year, and described as unrealistic the opposition Left Bloc's supposition that the proceeds could reach as many as 2 billion crowns.

He observed he did not consider it absurd that petrol prices would go up due to an increase in the consumer tax at a time when the price of oil was decreasing in the world.

Under an amendment to the law on consumer taxes passed today, the price of a liter of petrol will be raised by 50 hellers (100 hellers is 1 crown, about 30 crowns equals $1).

He said the decision to raise the consumer tax was motivated by fiscal effects.

Presently, petrol prices are regulated by means of setting the maximum prices, but as from January, the prices will start to copy the development of raw materials' prices, Kocarnik said.

### Poll Reveals Czech Attitudes on Trade Unions

*AU0312191093 Prague CTK in English 1520 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Prague, Dec 3 (CTK)—Only 8 percent of the Czechs fully identify with their trade union organization, a poll conducted by the Center of Empirical Research (STEM) among 687 economically active workers in early November revealed.

The Czech and Moravian Confederation of Trade Unions (CMKOS) which has the largest trade union membership, which numbered some 4.3 million people in August 1992.

The polled were asked the question whether people identify themselves with their trade union organizations. Thirty-five percent of those polled answered "rather yes," 20 percent "rather no," 13 percent do not identify themselves at all and 24.5 percent were not affiliated to any union.

Trade unions, are more popular with people employed in state-run organizations such as education, science and research, transport and state administration, and with people dissatisfied with the current social policy.

### Moravians Favor 'Lands' as Administrative Unit

*AU0312191293 Prague CTK in English 1411 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Ostrava, North Moravia, Dec 3 (CTK)—According to a recent opinion poll, inhabitants of Moravia and Silesia still want "lands," to be used as the largest units of local administration, leaders of the Self-Governing Democracy Movement For Moravia and Silesia said at a press conference today.

The poll, which was conducted in September and October by the Brno Foret marketing firm, the Prague Center for Empirical Research and the Prague branch of the private Austrian firm GFK, asked 7025 Moravian and Silesian inhabitants what they thought about the position of the historical lands of Moravia and Silesia in the Czech Republic. Silesia lies to the north of Moravia beneath the Polish border, it is in the North Moravian administrative region.

HSDMS Spokesman Julie Skrivankova said that in south Moravia 59.2 percent of inhabitants voted for one Moravian-Silesian administrative land and in north Moravia 58 percent voted for one land. About eight percent of respondents in Moravia favored the division of the historical land of Moravia and Silesia, while 26 wanted another form of administrative arrangement.

In none of the ten districts of north Moravia did less than 50 percent of the population favor one land. In Ostrava, 52,5 per cent of respondents were in favor, while in the Bruntal district the figure stood at 67.5 percent.

Skrivankova said she found it surprising that of the 14 south Moravian districts, only in Jihlava and Zlin were less than 50 per cent of the inhabitants in favor of one land.

Commenting on the discussion of administrative reform at the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) conference last weekend, chairman of the HSDMS land assembly Jaroslav Malis said that the conference decided that reform of the large units of local administration will not take place for the time being.

If this party resolution is incorporated into the policy of the state, it will clearly be the first time that, practically speaking, the will of a party organ has been placed above the letter of the state constitution, Malis said.

### Interior Ministry Reports Cases of Racism

*AU0412151093 Prague CTK in English 2059 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Prague, Dec 3 (CTK)—A Ministry of the Interior report shows that in the increasing number of racially motivated attacks in the Czech Republic Romanies (Gypsies) are almost always the victims.

From the beginning of 1990 until autumn this year 16 Romanies were killed, according to police statistics. In three cases the murder was committed by skinheads, in seven cases by Romanies.

The number of racially motivated attacks reported to the police in 1991 was 25. Last year the figure was 31 and this year it has grown to 46. In 94 out of the total of 102 incidents it was Romanies or foreigners—Vietnamese, Bulgarians and Romanians—who were attacked. In eight cases Romanies attacked skins. Eight of the attacks led to deaths.

Most attacks occurred in Prague, northern Bohemia and south Moravia, confirming the hypothesis that racial violence is most frequent where there are the highest concentrations of Romanies.

Between January 1991 and August 1993 police recorded racial violence in Prague (43 cases), Ceska Lipa (12) and Jablonec nad Nisou (5) in north Bohemia, Plzen (5) in west Bohemia, Jihlava (6) and Brno (5) in south Moravia, and Ostrava (7) in north Moravia.

The fundamental motive in the attacks appears to be the claim that Romanies have a lower standard of living, do not contribute to society and are criminally inclined.

The ministry report cites not only far right and far left groups as potential trouble groups but also environmentalist groups which sometimes support them. It states that extremist organizations often are supported by psychopaths with asocial aggressive behavior.

The authors of the report fear that increasing interethnic tension could grow into local racial unrest because bodies responsible for prosecution do not take more than a peripheral interest in these extreme groups.

The extremist groups that instigate the violence propound nationalism, fascism and anti-Semitism. They are usually composed of skinheads, but sometimes punks and various hooligans, the report observes. It notes that skins' aggressiveness has increased in relation to last year. Skinhead groups formed very shortly after the fall of the totalitarian regime in 1989. The sense of being threatened by a mass invasion of Romanies from Slovakia and by their criminal propensity... contributed to the nationalist orientation, of the groups.

The Czech punk movement arose in the late 1970's. Its members reject organization, they are apolitical and idealistic. Since spring 1991 they often cooperate with the anarchists.

The anarchist movement is very broad, ranging from those who believe in acts of individual terror against the governing regime, the state and its representatives, to those who seek to defend the environment and animal rights. They team up with Romanies in anti- racism actions which often lead to clashes with skinheads.

The report also describes the activities of the Satanists, who worship the devil by celebrating obscene black masses in which victims, animal and human, are sacrificed.

Only one organized crime department of the Prague Municipal Police deals with the problems of extremist groups. The report recommends that other police units be assigned to halting the rise in racially motivated crime.

### Meciar Confirms Kovac Call for Resignation

*AU0312164893 Prague CTK in English 1217 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 3 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar confirmed in an interview with Slovak Radio today that President Michal Kovac had suggested that he resign. Kovac said he would then entrust Meciar once more with creating a new government. Meciar said he had considered Kovac's proposal badly thought out, and had therefore ignored it.

### Meciar: 'Government Would Fall'

*AU0312165093 Prague CTK in English 1308 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] [no dateline as received] Meciar said that if he were to resign, the whole government would fall along with him and the question would arise with whom to form coalition. He said he was not sure that the majority agreement would hold in parliament under such circumstances and that the composition of a new government was another problem. The Slovak premier said he firmly believed that there were no other alternatives to the programme presented by the HZDS [Movement For a Democratic Slovakia] and the current government. These are mere mutations, he said.

Meciar said Kovac should not have made public his opinion that if parliament passed a no-confidence vote in the premier, he would not entrust Meciar with composing a new government. Meciar said he had been informed that a HZDS meeting in Zlata Idka near Kosice, East Slovakia, was bugged, though the talks were supposed to be confidential. The content of Meciar's speech in Zlata Idka which was transcribed from a reliable tape-recording, according to the Slovak weekly SLOVENSKY VYCHOD, was published today by some Slovak newspapers. In this connection Meciar said that he could not confirm their authenticity as he did not read the articles. It is absolutely extraordinary that someone would bug the state and the premier, Meciar said.

### Kovac Appoints New Health Minister

*AU0612141393 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Dec 93 p 2*

[TA SR report: "Under Microscope"]

[Text] Bratislava—Michal Kovac, president of the Slovak Republic, yesterday appointed Irena Belohorska, MD, member of the Government of the Slovak Republic and entrusted her with the management of the Ministry of Health of the Slovak Republic. The minister of health took the oath prescribed by the Constitution and confirmed this by her signature. While presenting to the minister the letter of appointment, Michal Kovac drew attention to the fact that she was taking over responsibility for the government department in a complicated period of reforms that are introducing radical changes into the system of health care. He wished for her that she will win allies among the ranks of health workers, without whom the reform cannot succeed. The ceremony was attended by Prime Minister Meciar and National Council of the Slovak Republic Deputy Chairman Augustin Marian Huska. Irena Belohorska said that she considered it natural that the post of minister of health finds itself under the public's microscope. She noted that it was difficult for her to say whether she would seek any changes to the present concept of health care because she first had to analyze the existing problems. She said that she was not entitled to criticize any steps taken by her predecessor, Viliam Sobona, because it was difficult to assess the conduct of someone else without knowing the circumstances under which he worked.

### Meciar To Dismiss Bank Deputy Governor

*AU0412153093 Prague CTK in English 2110 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 3 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar told Slovak Radio today that he was to propose the government initiate the removal of Marian Tkac, Slovak National Bank (BNS) vice governor, from his position. He added that there was good reason for Tkac's resignation.

On November 25, BNS Governor Vladimir Masar confirmed that the BNS had signed a letter of credit for $4.2 million, supposed to be covered by an American bank. Masar said that the bank was owned by American Indians. Afterwards it was discovered that the bank consists of one person: Flying Eagle, an Indian from an American reserve, and that his 'bank' does not own any property, the Slovak daily SMENA stated.

Slovak daily SLOVENSKY VYCHOD quoted Meciar on December 2 as having said HZDS [Movement For a Democratic Slovakia] regional representatives that he had asked BNS vice Governor Marian Tkac allegedly responsible for the transaction to voluntarily offer his resignation and not to be a disgrace to us. Today Meciar dismissed the view that the coalition of his movement for a Democratic Slovakia, HZDS, with the Slovak National Party (SNS) would be threatened because Tkac was related to Chairman of the SNS Ludovit Cernak. We concluded the coalition with the SNS, not with Cernak, he added.

The NBS Spokesman Juraj Matejovsky said that according to Tkac, the whole affair was an incredible misunderstanding. But Tkac does not deem it suitable to discuss the whole affair, including Meciar's statements in public since this was not usual in the civilized world. Matejovsky said that in his effort to explain the whole case, Tkac had asked Meciar to receive him, although he considered the NBS to be an independent institution.

### Resignation Request Denied

*AU0312202893 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Dec 93 p 2*

[TA SR report: "They Are Gathering Evidence"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Slovak Republic does not face a military threat, we are not threatening anyone, and no one is threatening us. This statement was made yesterday by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar at a meeting between representatives of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia and the citizens of Bratislava. He was reacting to the anxiety expressed by those present about Hungary's disproportionate armament and the nationalistic speeches made by some ethnic Hungarian politicians. In response to a question on how satisfied he is with Slovak National Bank Deputy Governor Marian Tkac, he said that, in view of some of the professional errors made by Tkac, he had appealed to him to resign voluntarily from his post, but he had refused. He added that he had also informed the Slovak National Party [SNS] of his point of view, not only because Tkac is the brother-in-law of Ludovit Cernak, but also for the sake of a united course of action within the coalition. SNS representatives asked him to gather evidence and "when this has been put into an official form," Meciar is determined to initiate again Tkac's resignation.

## Meciar Views Dismissal of Prosecutor General

*AU0412150093 Prague CTK in English 2107 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 3 (CTK)—The coalition agreement between the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) and the Slovak National Party (SNS) also deals with the dismissal of Slovak General Prosecutor Vojtech Bacho, and president of the Supreme Court Karol Plank, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar told the Slovak Radio today.

He said that his attitude towards the questions concerning the prosecutor's office was not motivated personally. The General Prosecutor's office is one of the weak points in fighting crime, Meciar stated. The government does not have a reliable partner in it, he added.

Meciar said he received both personal and written complaints from the Prosecutor Office's employees, who, he said, wrote they were anxious. Recently, Meciar has also received several anonymous complaints. The institution operating in such an atmosphere is unhealthy, he stated.

Asked if the new candidate for the post of General Prosecutor would be close to the Meciar-led HZDS, Meciar said he was only considering whether or not the prosecutor's replacement was appropriate and needed. However, he considers it necessary to warn that the Prosecutor's Office finds itself in a difficult situation.

## CTK Provides More Details on 1994 Budget

*AU0312195593 Prague CTK in English 2145 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 2 (CTK)—The Slovak Government today approved a draft budget for 1994 which supposes a deficit of 4 percent of the envisaged gross domestic product (340 billion Slovak korunas, or about $11 billion), Deputy Premier and Finance Minister Julius Toth told journalists. Revenues are expected to amount to 126 billion Slovak korunas and spending to 140 billion Slovak korunas, he added. The budget counts on a 17 per cent unemployment rate, an inflation rate of 12 percent and zero growth in gross domestic product (GDP), Toth said.

He observed that amounts originally earmarked for some spheres—especially the Academy of Science, the Culture Ministry, the Environment Ministry and the Slovak News Agency TA SR—have been raised, also thanks to objections by the coalition partner of Premier Vladimir Meciar's Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), the Slovak National Party (SNS).

Slovakia expects to get credits from world financial institutions next year to the total amount of $300 to $400 billion, Toth said. He added that most budgetary chapters remained on this year's level, some have declined by 20 to 30 percent. The Slovak Army's subsidies will be raised most of all. It will get a total of 10.4 billion Slovak korunas, an increase of 2 billion on this year. The draft budget will be submitted to Parliament on December 8 in harmony with a HZDS-SNS agreement.

## SME Examines 'Indiagate' Investigations

*AU0312195293 Bratislava SME in Slovak 2 Dec 93 p 3*

[Article by Ivan Stulajter: "Indiagate"]

[Text] On 7 September, in the article "Question Marks Over Claims in India," our correspondent raised two questions: 1. Who decided to sell Slovak claims in India to the Czech firm VSZ Selecta? 2. How much below their true value were the claims sold? No one qualified replied to those questions at that time. Only after the publication of the mysterious fax [by SME on 28 September 1993, alleging that Finance Minister Toth, Economics Minister Kubecka, and National Bank Governor Masar had embezzled $22 million while unblocking Slovak claims in India] has some light been shed on the matter, due to great media interest. From the viewpoint of availability of information, however, it is possible to speak about a real shift in this case only in connection with the parliamentary commission of inquiry, the legal justification of which had been challenged by the prime minister.

Regarding question number 1: The claim had not been sold to the firm VSZ Selecta Prague but to the foreign firm Interfidas (based on the British island of Jersey). Interfidas was selected without any competitive tender. The contract between the Slovak Ministry of Finance and Interfidas was signed on 13 January 1993 by Finance Minister Julius Toth and M. Adamek, with whom Julius Toth used to be in contact with while working for the VSZ [East Slovak Iron Works] Kosice a.s. Interfidas entrusted VSZ Selecta only with the realization of the deal for a commission. However, Interfidas involved in the transaction also its subsidiary

Ekofidas, for which Ceskoslovenska Obchodni Banka [Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Bank, CSOB] unblocked (released) Indian rupees for the purchase of Indian goods.

Regarding question number 2: The value of the claim, which totalled 914 million Indian rupees, was reduced by a 19-percent discount, which, at an exchange rate of 0.8 Slovak korunas [Sk] per 1 Indian rupee, amounts to approximately Sk140 million. In other words, the minister of finance made it possible to sell a claim valued at approximately Sk730 million for Sk590 million (the difference is accounted for by the discount). The commission of inquiry rated the quality of the claim as good [bonitni]—that is, it would have been possible to recover almost 100 percent of the claim of Sk730 million. It is, therefore, appropriate to ask whether Julius Toth took the proper course of action. In the contract, the discount was subdivided into 4 percent profit for Interfidas and 15 percent designated as expenditures. When we consider the personal links between the aforementioned three firms (M. Adamek, I. Farnbauer, V. Slowik, whose names are mentioned also in the mysterious fax), the fact that the 15 percent designated as expenditures include the profit of the firms Ekofidas and VSZ Selecta appears in a different light. What represented expenditures for Interfidas was, on the other hand, income for Ekofidas and VSZ Selecta.

At his meeting with correspondents at Modra-Harmonia in October, Vladimir Meciar declared that no Indiagate affair existed. Julius Toth, in turn, let himself be heard that the sole truth in the fax was that claims had been unblocked.

Genuine Indiagate.

### Antall To Continue Chemotherapy 'as Planned'

*AU0312172393 Budapest MTI in English 1707 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Budapest, 3 December (MTI)—Speaking on behalf of the team of doctors treating Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, University Professor Dr. Gyorgy Nemeth said:

"A parent cell transplantation and related therapy have led to remission of the disease in the lymph organs, following which new manifestations have appeared in the blood-forming organs. Chemical and radiation therapy continues as planned.

"The next medical report will be issued in a week."

Antall underwent a parent cell transplantation while he was treated in Cologne from October 6 to November 5. He is currently in Budapest's SOTE Medical University Hospital.

### Konya Visits Antall in Hospital

*AU0612134993 Budapest MTI in English 1153 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Budapest, 6 Dec (MTI)—Parliamentary Group Leader of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) Imre Konya on Sunday visited Prime Minister Jozsef Antall in hospital.

Reporting on the hour-long conversation he had with Antall, Konya said the prime minister is monitoring the work of the government, of Parliament and of the HDF. He has regular meetings with Interior Minister Peter Boross, acting for him in his absence, HDF Managing President Sandor Lezsak and Parliamentary Group Leader Imre Konya.

Konya reported Antall is moved by the loving concern people all over Hungary are showing towards him. Antall strongly wants to return to his office as soon as possible, Konya said.

### Defense Secretary on NATO Expansion East

*AU0612085493 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 24 Nov 93 p 9*

[Josef Vesely report on an interview with Hungarian Defense Ministry Secretary Rudolf Joo;place and date not given: "Hungary Is Mainly Concerned With Cooperation With NATO"]

[Text] Prior to the NATO strategic summit scheduled for 10 January 1994, discussions are under way not only in the United States and in the 15 other NATO countries, but also in Central Europe. It is also known that on his way to Brussels, President Bill Clinton will stop off in Prague or in Poland after the New Year. In any case, he will want to meet other representatives of the region—from Slovakia and Hungary. Rudolf Joo, secretary of the Hungarian Defense Ministry, gave an interview to MLADA FRONTA DNES regarding the conclusions that Hungarian generals and diplomats have reached regarding NATO.

Hungary has definitely decided to respect reality, and is willing to put aside temporarily the political—and rather prestigious—issue: rapprochement with NATO. Hungary does not believe that NATO will reach a consensus on the admission of countries of our region into NATO within the next few years. Budapest is therefore preparing itself for a transitional period that may last decades.

The Hungarians have also dropped the idea that Henry Kissinger put forward in Bonn at the end of October, one that has Klaus's support: To follow the example of France (and Spain), who are part of NATO's political structure, but not of its military organization.

"This does not mean that we would not like the French model, but we know that NATO increasingly dislikes such exceptions," Rudolf Joo says. "In Madrid, my Spanish colleagues told me several days ago that their model was inappropriate for us, since the Iberian state has a different political, economic, and military significance in Western Europe."

The definite conclusion for the Hungarians is to work less on the form of rapprochement with NATO, but to focus on the subject of cooperation. The Partnership For Peace project—which, at the suggestion of the United States, was evaluated by NATO defense ministers in Travemunde—would mean a step forward for Budapest only if such a step did not rule out our countries' subsequent admission to NATO. Should this be the case, joint exercises would make more sense, and so would establishing closer contacts and mechanisms for solving possible crisis situations.

There is no question that the weight of Central Europe's position would become greater if the Central Europe countries were able to formulate it jointly prior to the NATO summit in January. The remaining weeks before the summit will test whether the Visegrad Four is capable of this.

"It is quite possible that a joint formulation could become an efficient tool of ours when negotiating with Brussels—this applies to NATO and the European Community, as well. Politicians who reject this regional cooperation are confusing the end with the means. I am convinced that a joint initiative would give us a greater chance for joint success," the state secretary added, and noted: "If we proceed jointly, we could make NATO set up conditions for the future membership of countries of our type. The most advanced countries could even be given a rough indication of the deadline for their admission. We will not be able to make it individually."

The recent embarrassing situation surrounding the unpublished fragments of the new Russian military doctrine indicates the need for the Central and East

European countries to change their opinions and coordinate the course of action with respect to Moscow. Hungary cannot accept the possibility of becoming a "buffer zone." It would be even more unacceptable if the Central and Eastern European countries—as NATO allies—were put on Russia's list of nuclear targets, even though they have no nuclear weapons.

In this connection, Rudolf Joo mentioned statements made by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, who said in Bonn last week that the idea of a defense system provided jointly by NATO and Russia was completely unacceptable for Hungary.

## FIDESZ Advocates 'Positive Discrimination'

*LD0412210593 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[Excerpt] The FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] debate in Budapest has concentrated on the issue of minorities. FIDESZ has no intention of making the issue of nationalities and minorities the focus of the election campaign. This was stressed by Tamas Tirts [member of the FIDESZ Presidium].

[Begin Tirts recording] FIDESZ has adopted this stand of principle since 1990—and this stand is emphasized in the current party program, too—that it does not wish to use different yardsticks for the minorities within Hungary and without. We bear in mind two important political principles in this respect. One is positive discrimination, while the other is the assertion of collective minority rights, both within and without Hungary. [passage omitted] [end recording]

## Journalists See Press Freedom 'Threatened'

*LD0612124393 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] The International Federation of Journalists and the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers believe freedom of the press and of information are threatened in Hungary because the government is exerting a powerful influence on public service television and radio. The two organizations discussed the media at a consultation in Copenhagen, in which experts from 20 countries participated. They adopted a separate resolution on Hungary in which they urge the Hungarian Government to take immediate steps to restore balanced journalism in state television and radio.

## New Weapons Delivery Scandal Emerges

*AU0312195393 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 3 Dec 93 p 4*

[Correspondent's report: "A New Weapons Scandal?"]

[Text] A new weapons scandal involving Hungary is emerging after the Maribor scandal. For a change, it was Sofia this time that accused the Technika Foreign Trade Enterprise of delivering weapons to Serbia with "doctored" papers jointly with a Viennese firm.

According to well-informed circles, the Technika definitely bears responsibility in the affair of the delivery of weapons and ammunition to Gdynia. That delivery of Kalashnikovs and their ammunition was confiscated in the Gdynia port by the military officials of the NGKN [expansion unknown] at the end of 1991. Although the delivery papers of the Technika Foreign Trade Enterprise mentioned the Nigerian Army General Staff as the final destination, the chief of the Nigerian General Staff did not know about the issue.

First, we asked the owner of the Technika Foreign Trade Enterprise, namely the AV Ltd, about the rather embarrassing affair. Answering our inquiries, AV Ltd spokesman Erno Bajai told us that they also learned about the accusations from the press, namely that the firm delivered weapons with false papers. There is no connection between the firing of the firm's general manager Tibor Miklos on 26 November and the Serbian accusations. However, it is a fact that a lot of complaints have been addressed to the aforementioned foreign trade enterprise in recent years. As a result, Tibor Miklos has been dismissed and replaced by Istvan Szarka, who is in charge of restructuring. A comprehensive investigation began at the Technika Foreign Trade Enterprise on 29 November 1993, with the participation of outside firms. We do not know whether this investigation will succeed in gathering data and proof justifying the accusations. Given the fact that there is an information ban in force for the duration of the investigation, the spokesman could not provide information about the partial results either. Nor could he tell us what concrete professional mistakes were committed by Tibor Miklos.

The new general manager, Istvan Szarka, only told us that he would not comment until the conclusion of the investigation.

In connection with the accusations directed at the Technika Foreign Trade Enterprise, National Police Headquarters spokesman Laszlo Garamvolgyi said that the National Police Headquarters was not investigating the matter.

## Olechowski on Integration in Western Market

*PM0312164493 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 15 Nov 93 pp 1,5*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski by correspondent Henryk Sroczynski; place and date not given]

[Text] [Sroczynski] We have been very active in foreign policy affairs to date. Do you intend to keep up the pace?

[Olechowski] Yes. It is our intention to maintain at least the same level of activity in our foreign policies. On no account will we slacken the present pace.

[Sroczynski] Will you pursue the same policy lines in the same directions?

[Olechowski] We will keep the same policy lines and the same directions. And we address this message to both the outside world and to our domestic observers.

[Sroczynski] Will the goals of your foreign policy remain the same, too?

[Olechowski] Our principal goals are still the same: integration with the European Union, a tightening of cooperation with NATO with a view to eventual accession to the pact, the development of foreign bilateral relations, and regional cooperation.

[Sroczynski] Is our diplomatic policy line not oriented too much toward Western Europe?

[Olechowski] For historical and civilizational reasons we feel, of course, closer to the Western world, and that is why participation in European integration remains our priority goal. We believe that it will create the best opportunities to safeguard future stability and security throughout a continent which has traditionally been rocked by a variety of conflicts. We perceive in the European Union a partner who will both offer us a model for the direction of much needed institutional changes in our economy and support our efforts to implement these changes.

[Sroczynski] The road to integration now appears longer than we expected...

[Olechowski] This is true. That road is longer than the interests of Poland and Europe would suggest. Our membership of the Union will take place as a result of a process which will last for some years more. This is why we must now view the problems connected with our state security with a keener sense of urgency.

[Sroczynski] What dangers are there in that sphere?

[Olechowski] We have many reasons to consider the issue of our country's security with more seriousness than other countries need to consider theirs. History does not have to repeat itself, and I am indeed convinced that it will not do so. We view European democracies with confidence, and we also take note of the major transformations to the east of our borders. We trust that democracy is the end goal of these transformations, as is prosperity for the individual. However, from our own experience we know how many dangers and disappointments the process of transforming the economy can entail. At such times of fear and frustration, nationalism and xenophobia come to present an attractive option. Thus, until the process of transformation in our region is completed and until the postcommunist countries stabilize their democratic systems and their own economy, we cannot feel fully safe and secure. This is why we strive so energetically to secure membership of NATO for our country.

[Sroczynski] But all the while our application is pushed aside...

[Olechowski] I intend to keep explaining patiently to our partners that we really need that membership today, while the transformation processes I spoke about are at their most difficult, and not tomorrow, when—as we are surely entitled to assume—the countries in question will already be stable and democratic.

[Sroczynski] Minister, as you know, the city of Lodz has always largely based its industry on trading with the West. Can Polish foreign policy contribute to our recovery of those traditional markets—and if so, how?

[Olechowski] On the whole, I must state that we certainly intend to stress the economic issues more strongly in our foreign policy. I am thinking of active promotion and protection of Poland's interests in our relations with foreign partners. As regards the countries of the former USSR, especially Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus, we have set ourselves a triple goal. First of all, we intend to provide the most favorable access to markets in those countries. This means that we will attempt to ensure that no excessive barriers are placed before us in those markets. We will also try to make sure that Polish exports not only find easy access to these countries, but also that that access is easier for us than for other trading partners. Second, we intend to forge the optimum climate for our commercial interests: We will try to encourage a good reputation for us Poles as trading partners. Third, we will also promote Poland as a kind of bridging platform between these post-USSR countries and the West. However, all that will still not provide a solution to our fundamental concern, which can be best expressed by the slogan: "to regain previous markets." If those markets are to be fully viable, the people involved in their operations must have enough money. If they want to make enough money, they must, in turn, export their goods to us. The problem is that we are not too keen on buying from them. So the circle closes at this point. On the one hand, we would like to sell our goods in their markets, and, on the other, we would prefer to close our own market to them.

[Sroczynski] What conditions must be met if Poland is to become an economic bridging platform between the East and the West?

[Olechowski] That is, actually, a very ambitious goal, and I am not sure whether we can achieve full success in promoting Poland as a bridging platform between the economies of these two areas. In order to play the role of such a bridging platform, we must first of all secure acceptance of this project from the sides involved. For the time being, we still have no such acceptance. In addition, it will be necessary to make certain financial outlays. So far, there are many more airline connections to Frankfurt from Moscow and Almaty than there are from Warsaw. Why should Western companies prefer to base themselves in our capital at this point? We still often naively assume that we constitute the gateway to Russia for the West.

[Sroczynski] What prospects do you perceive for the development of trade exchange with the Far and Middle East? Rumor has it that there are considerable prospects for trade exchange with China. Is that true?

[Olechowski] We aim to develop new initiatives in that direction, too. However, as regards the Far East, we know that many of our businessmen have already failed to make a mark there. It is not easy to break into those markets successfully. Nevertheless, there are some relevant promising accents in our relations with China. Already today these are beginning to gain a certain strategic significance. As to the possibilities of trading with the Middle East, our companies do not find it easy to operate in their markets. Still, we have some hopes of developing easier contacts with the area around the Persian Gulf through trade relations with Turkey. Perhaps that country will eventually become our sponsor in that part of the world—a king of Polish window on that region.

## Citizens Polled on Russia's NATO Objections

*AU0312120193 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 30 Nov 93 p 2*

[Agnieszka Kubik report: "Dangerous New World"]

[Text] Last June, 64 percent of the respondents to a Social Opinion Research Center [CBOS] survey had no fears for Poland's independence, but in a similar survey carried out in November, only 38 percent of the respondents said they felt safe in Poland following Russia's objection to Poland's admission to NATO.

"I agree that we may not be entirely safe," says Bronislaw Komorowski, former deputy defense minister and now chairman of the Sejm Defense Committee. "Even the West itself is questioning the Western system of security, and our army's equipment is outdated."

Over half the respondents said they wanted Poland to join NATO. These were mostly young people, people with right-wing views, people with higher education, and white collar workers.

Komorowski shares this desire, though he does not think Poland can join NATO before the end of U.S. President Bill Clinton's presidency. Nevertheless he is optimistic: "We have a chance of joining NATO before the end of this century."

Only 5 percent of the respondents in the November survey believed that "Russia may make its wishes on this subject known." Sixty-nine percent thought that one can safely ignore Russia's opinion. Fifty- five percent thought that the West will take Russia's objection into account.

"Russia has spoken out on this matter so unequivocally that in the end, NATO will have to take a stance," says Komorowski. "So either NATO will publicly admit that it is acting under Russian dictates, or—and this is what I expect—it will work out a new system of security that has room for Poland as well."

Forty-seven percent of the respondents said they would expect no help from the West "in the event of a direct threat to Poland's independence."

"I disagree," says Komorowski. "The West could not remain completely indifferent to a threat to Poland. We can count on the West, even though we have not had any formal guarantees from that quarter."

The CBOS survey was carried out during the period 5-15 November on a representative sample of 1,216 adult Poles.

## Poll Shows Shift of Threat From Germany to Russia

*WS0212152393 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Dec 93 p 23*

[Report by R.M.: "We Are More Afraid of Russia Than Germany"]

[Text] In an October opinion poll conducted by the Center for Research of Public Opinion [OBOP], respondents were asked which country poses the greatest threat to Poland today. Thirty-one percent of the respondents answered that this country is Russia. Three years ago, as many as 32 percent of respondents answered that this state was Germany (June 1990). Now, only 5 percent of respondents expressed that opinion. In June 1990, these proportions were exactly the reverse.

When asked who will be such a danger in the future, again more respondents answered that they think it will be Russia—26 percent; 11 percent think that Germany will be such a danger. An analysis of these correlations revealed that respondents who are between 16 and 59 years of age primarily believe that Russia will be a greater danger for Poland in the future. Only the oldest people, 60 years old and older, a little more frequently expressed the opinion that Germany will constitute a greater danger in the future. Poland should maintain particularly close and good political relations with Germany; this is the opinion of 69 percent of respondents; second comes Russia—49 percent; third—the Czech

Republic, with 47 percent of respondents; fourth—the United States, with 39 percent of respondents; and fifth—France, with 26 percent of respondents. As for the question of which country should Poland maintain economic contacts with, the respondents believe that it should be Germany—68 percent; 52 percent believe it should be Russia; 39 percent—the United States; 30 percent—France; and 28 percent—the Czech Republic. As for military alliances, Poland should conclude them first of all with Germany—this is the opinion of 14 percent of respondents; only 5 percent believe that this state should be Russia. Thirty-four percent of respondents say that we should form similar alliances with both Russia and Germany. Twenty-two percent of respondents replied that we should not cooperate with either Russia or Germany.

Opinion poll conducted by OBOP on 25 and 26 October. 1054 interviews were conducted.

**Who now Poses the Greatest Danger to Poland?**

| | Germany | Russia |
|---|---|---|
| June 1990 | 32 percent | 5 percent |
| October 1993 | 5 percent | 31 percent |

**Who Will Pose the Greatest Danger to Poland in the Future?**

| | Germany | Russia |
|---|---|---|
| June 1990 | 30 percent | 5 percent |
| October 1993 | 11 percent | 26 percent |

## Walesa Backs 'Good Relations' With Russia

*LD0312162393 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1000 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski stated that in Lech Walesa's opinion Poland should maintain good relations with Russia in all spheres. In today's interview for the Polish Radio First Program, The Signals of the Day, Andrzej Drzycimski added that in the president's view both countries should cooperate in combating crime that arises in the period of institutional and economic transformations.

The president's spokesman reminded that Poland has been making efforts to join European security structures also because of its fears of the rebirth of the old arrangement of power.

## Olechowski Still Hopeful on NATO Membership

*LD0412211493 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1830 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Olechowski by unidentified evening news announcer—live]

[Text] [Announcer] Our studio guest is Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski. Good evening.

[Olechowski] Good evening.

[Announcer] Minister, you have returned from Brussels in a rather good mood. Is what happened there, the decisions that were made there, success or defeat for us?

[Olechowski] You know, I have been taken aback by these categorical opinions from Moscow, because I was in Brussels with the same people. I talked to them, and I got a different impression. I think it is a bit like the proverbial glass: one person sees it as half empty and the other as half full.

NATO has decided to open up—this decision, I think, is going to be made in January—that is, NATO has said it would accept new members. At the same time NATO said it would not accept them at once; it will accept them as a part of a process, and this process is going to be called partnership for peace. A number of these countries—in principle all the countries in our region—are going to start a process of collaboration with NATO, at the end of which there will be NATO membership for some of them.

[Announcer] Is it that NATO does not want to make hasty decisions in order not to trip up Yeltsin?

[Olechowski] No, this is only, and very much so, a part of the reason.

We have never heard from NATO that it wants to accept us as a member. We have been talking about this for quite some time now, while NATO has been very, very reticent.

Put yourself in the shoes of an American who is rather ambivalent about foreign policy. He has now gone through the stress of Somalia and other American interventions. Just imagine for a moment that his Congress is going to discuss extending the American nuclear umbrella to Poland. That is what it would amount to.

Then he has to consider that, if necessary, his son will go and die somewhere in Poland if something were to happen. The first question he is going to ask himself would be: Why Poland? Perhaps he could accept this easily, but if Poland, then perhaps some other countries too. Which ones? Where does this end? This debate is not resolved. We do not know any more where so-called Western Europe ends. Would Ukraine or Belorussia belong there? What other countries? There is still no decision about this, and there is rather a lack of imagination as to what this should be.

Second, he says, if I take Poland under my wing today and the Russians are in the middle of elections, perhaps I would undermine the chances of the democrats, among whom we definitely include Minister Kozyrev and the people who today pursue the Russian policy. So why should I do this right now? This is also an issue.

So the problems on that side are very serious. On the one hand, there are long-term problems, and on the other there are immediate ones.

But let us say this. The world today is searching for a new security system....

[Announcer, interrupting] Specifically, is NATO still capable of functioning, or should we be thinking of something completely different?

[Olechowski] No, I think that NATO has caught a fresh wind. An even stronger spirit has been pushed into the WEU, the Western European Union. The American Government's ambivalence toward this union has completely changed to a positive attitude. It was an organization which apparently had been going into retirement and suddenly it is supposed to grow.

So there will certainly be a NATO, with the WEU as an exclusively European system. We do not know what is going to be on the Eastern side. The Commonwealth of Independent States is being prepared. We do not know whether it will or will not be there. We certainly want to be on the Western side. We are going to be there, I believe....

[Announcer, interrupting] When?

[Olechowski] If only I knew. You know, I just do not want to hear that it will be in long term, because in the long term we are all going to be dead, of course, so we would like it to be in the shorter term.

I am convinced it is going to be a process, but a relatively dynamic one, and that we are going to hear things in January that will improve our security. Now, to what extent they are going to improve it, to what extent we are going to hear things that will satisfy us, I cannot say. This is what we are trying for, this is what the president, the government, and the diplomatic sector, which is working particularly intensively now, are trying for.

[Announcer] Thank you very much for talking to us.

[Olechowski] Thank you.

## Walesa Interviewed on Silesia Policy

*PM0312121693 Katowice TRYBUNA SLASKA in Polish 22 Nov 93 p 4*

[Interview with Polish President Lech Walesa by correspondent Marek Sobiecki; place and date not given]

[Text] [Sobiecki] Mr. President, last year, in the course of a meeting with the chief editors of regional daily papers, you proposed a concept of creating a special government minister for Silesia. Today we can see that the proposal was never put into practice... To what extent are you yourself guilty here, being personally responsible for this "sin of omission," and to what extent is this the result of the unwillingness of the cabinet in office at that time—an unwillingness to implement such an unorthodox solution?

[Walesa] It is not quite like that. It is true that during that meeting we talked a lot about the difficult problems facing Silesia. But you failed to understand exactly the points I raised. I said then that we needed to concentrate our forces and resources to assist that region, which is of such great importance to the country and which has done so much for it, but which is now suffering a very difficult time. I said then that such an action could, for example, be led by a minister, but it did not necessarily have to be a minister. Whoever it would be, the important thing was that he should have a concept of how to solve Silesia's problems. He should be able to find solutions that would allow Silesia to become redirected and reoriented without such a vast social price to pay.

### I Appreciate Everything that Silesia Has Given to the Country

Over the years Silesia was exploited to the very limits of what it had to offer. However, today it turns out that it must pay the price for that exploitation. The price it has to pay is the unparalleled degradation of its natural environment and the enormous economic and social problems. The task of restructuring the region is a very difficult challenge. And we must not leave Silesia to its own devices in trying to combat its problems. There was a time when Silesia was building Poland. Today all Poland must help Silesia transform itself.

### It's Not True That I am Leaving Silesia To Its Own Fate

I believe that I actually give more attention to Silesia than to other regions.

I can see that I will have to recall here my past initiatives—such as my letters addressed to the Sejm, the premier, the trade unions and miners themselves, during the miners' strikes in December last year. I pointed out to the Sejm the region's dramatic situation and warned that even the best programs were bound to fail if we did not persuade people of their worth, or if these programs were realized, as it were, without people's real involvement or against their wishes. That is also why I spoke about the need to have an office, a person, or a lobby that would be able and ready to seek new ways of helping Silesia and its citizens from the level of the region itself—as it were, from the grassroots level. It was in this sense that I mentioned a "Minister for Silesia." We should offer Silesia a fishing rod and Silesia will then be able to catch its own fish. I will endeavor to ensure that the new government devotes special attention to this special region.

In my contacts with representatives of the European Communities, I speak out on behalf of our metallurgical industry, our agriculture, and our textiles industry. After all, we could be competitive partners in these fields. Unfortunately, they do not want us.

[Sobiecki] Nevertheless, it was not by chance that I suggested that you may be guilty of a "sin of omission." After all, only one of all the councils acting as the president's consultative bodies—the council on ecological matters—has to date addressed itself to the problems

pertaining to our region. So, Mr. President, do you not believe that your economic advisers should take on board the questions of restructuring the mining and metallurgical industries, and your advisers on matters of social policy should address themselves to the problem of securing social welfare protection for the miners and metallurgical industry workers who are being made redundant?

[Walesa] I am glad that you noticed and appreciated the work of my Council for the Ecology, which has indeed devoted much attention to the situation in Silesia. One of the Council sessions took place in Katowice. After all, Silesia faces the most serious risks to the environment and the health of its citizens. The Council presented me with a list of 10 essential tasks vital for saving Silesia's environmental well-being. If these are carried out successfully, we may yet see an improvement. It is also essential that local self-government structures become involved in these schemes. However, let me remind you that—

**The President's Councils Are Not Above the Government**

—or above parliament. They only highlight various global problems. Nevertheless, I can, of course, suggest that the problems that are most vital for Silesia are looked at and addressed. Here, however, let me remind you that, for example, the Council for Economic Affairs or the Council for Social Policy already concern themselves with certain issues which, when resolved, will bring about an improvement of the situation also in Silesia. Take, for instance, the question of assigning a proportion of [revenues obtained from] privatization, which is being discussed along with other issues involved in the preparation of the Economic Guidelines Charter, or the proposal to create special economic zones which would enjoy exceptional financial and tax regulations because of the special situation in those regions. I am thinking here of regions which are, for instance, facing the threat of structural unemployment.

However, the Councils themselves have no executive powers. Whether their proposals eventually find their way to the Sejm's legislative debates—for example, in the form of bills submitted by the President's Office—depends on parliamentary decisions, and their execution depends on the government.

[Sobiecki] We pinned considerable hopes for the solution of many of Silesia's problems on the proposed program for decentralization of the state administration, which was originally announced by the previous government. However, judging by their initial public declarations, the new government coalition leaders are advocates of slowing down the local self-government reform. In this situation, can we look upon the president of the Polish Republic as as a defender of our hopes and aspirations?

[Walesa] The policy of decentralization and local self-government has already been tried and tested with success in the world. Nothing can be accomplished really well in the country unless the people themselves decide on local matters which affect them. That is the essence of democracy. Today we must depart from the idea of a state that is "always present in all matters" and move in the direction of one in which we will have to make decisions and assume responsibility for them.

**"People at the Top" Don't Necessarily Always Know Better**

Some fear the idea of self-government. And yet self-government structures must become a respected partner for the authorities. After all, they will determine the success of our "little homelands." That is why I place my trust in self-government structures. As I said during the sessions of the Local Self-Government Congress, there is a need for instituting a national self-government forum, which could group together various organizations and alliances. I am also considering the creation of a council for local self-government affairs, as a consultative body advising the Polish president.

After all, self-government provides the strength of the democratic system. Therefore, there can be no question today whether it is worth transferring power downward, to be wielded by local communities. There is only the question of how it should be done if we want to achieve the best possible results.

[Sobiecki] Mr. President, thank you for the interview.

## Politicians, Media View Mutual Relationships

*WS0312150093 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 3 Dec 93 pp 1, 2*

[Article by Kazimierz Groblewski: "War or Peace?; 'Mass Media's Gigantic Attack on Governing Coalition, Especially PSL?'"]

[Text] **According to Senate Speaker Adam Struzik of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], there is an "antigovernment campaign" going on in the mass media, the final goal of which is to lead to a "collapse of the power system created by PSL and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] on 19 September." Speaker Struzik is not the only one to think that—other leaders of the governing coalition have also spoken out on this topic before. It can be concluded from an informal survey we conducted among some more and less known SLD and PSL Sejm deputies, that his view is rather common (more so within PSL than SLD). We also asked some representatives of the media about it—they deny waging any intentional war on the new government. (Some of these statements are published below).**

But it is readers, radio listeners, and television viewers who are the final judges here.

It is a fact that when power is taken over by a political force which is clearly predominant (such was the case

with Jan Olszewski's cabinet when the right wing came to power, and such is the case now when it is the left wing's turn), the mass media do not quite know what to expect of that new government. So this explains the distance which the media keeps, especially during initial months.

What about this government? The coalition members made many promises during the election campaign. The media keep reminding them about that, and they will be reproaching the government with its departure from promises. On the other hand, even if the government begins implementing its promises (which could result in a halting or slowdown of reforms), it will be criticized for that as well. PSL and SLD came to power by promising so much, but by doing so they also placed themselves in a difficult position, in relation to the mass media, from the very beginning.

Politicians have their own ideas as to what the mass media should be like and on the ways in which they should provide information. Some of them are deluded by the myth of "telephone power," where a phone call is made to an editor in chief to force him to do something. Politicians also have a unique way of understanding the mechanisms within which newspapers (for instance) function.

It seems to those politicians that all decisions in a newspaper are made by the editor in chief, who always has the final say as to which stories will find their way into the paper. So if a critical article appears about those politicians, they are deeply convinced that the editor in chief most certainly knew about it, if he did not actually write the piece himself. So in other words, the editor in chief made a decision that his paper should criticize somebody or something (they tend to use the term "to give hiding") and so the journalist is only carrying out orders.

Many politicians also think they can pretty well tell who is behind a given newspaper. RZECZPOSPOLITA, for instance, is perceived in most cases to be a paper of the Democratic Union, oftentimes it is associated with the liberals, and apart from that—depending on the particular time period—we are pro-government, pro-Belvedere, or simply right-wing.

There are some politicians who—if they do not like the pictures which were published in a newspaper—regard it as the paper's intentional malice, thinking that it had decided to ridicule them. They are naturally also convinced that it was the editor in chief (and consequently also the "forces which are behind him") who made the final decision to publish a picture. Those politicians would like to see themselves pictured only in poses which they themselves like the most.

During a press conference, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak apologized at one point for not pointing his hand to indicate which journalist should ask the next question, because "they (cameramen) will immediately take a picture of me in that pose."

"Good information" is understood to mean different things to mass media and politicians. It is enough for the media to publish something which the government would like to keep secret (the prime minister's hunting trip, for instance), and that becomes sufficient proof of the media waging a "campaign" against the government or PSL. It is a similar case when the media unofficially learn about a decision which for some reason has not been made official yet.

For the moment, it looks like the government is acting to its own detriment. Two weeks passed after the resignation of Office of State Protection Chief Jerzy Konieczny, before the prime minister approved of the resignation and appointed a successor. So two weeks is how much time the government gave to the mass media to make speculations.

The reasons for Konieczny's resignation were not made public. All that was said was that "he thought his mission was over."

There is no good information either, on the government's contacts with the All-Polish Trade Unions Agreement. The press was not informed at all about Labor Minister Miller's first meeting with the union. All that journalists could get was a laconic statement made after the fact, to the effect that the meeting had taken place.

**Regarding RZECZPOSPOLITA**

While gathering material for an article, we heard a PSL politician say: "So Fikus (RZECZPOSPOLITA's editor in chief) is already scared to death?" (he used a much stronger term).

We often hear ironic remarks—especially from PSL politicians—when they say they "will finally stop us." The thing is that RZECZPOSPOLITA's position is different from other, completely private media, since the Treasury has a 51-percent stake in the paper.

**Politicians:**

SLD's Zbigniew Siemiatkowski: "If the media are really a fourth power, one must learn to live with them, and also to strive to gain their understanding and friendly attitude. I do not favor views that the press is waging a campaign against us.

"Still, my reservation is that you tend to mix information with commentary.

"Sure, I can see malicious statements made in the media, but I do not make a big deal out if it, because I believe in the concept of a free press.

"Does the press have reasons to be distrustful toward the new coalition? If ZYCIE WARSZAWY is headed by Wolek who is not just a journalist but also a supporter of a specific political trend, then having something like ZYCIE WARSZAWY at his disposal, he is not going to be complimentary about the government. It is the same

case with GAZETA WYBORCZA and RZECZPOSPOLITA. The latter is headed by someone who has to prove to himself that his leaving the party [presumably the Polish United Workers Party] and his other choices made sense. That is why the press is not enthusiastic about the new coalition. The press used to be associated with a different type of government."

SLD's Ryszard Grodzicki: "Information from the media is definitely not complete. I can see a kind of bias, first of all in the malicious phrasing of titles. The body of the article may weaken the impact of the title somewhat, but it is still the title that remains in the reader's mind. I would not use the phrase 'waging a campaign,' but it is still true that in the past, journalists would give new ministers a chance to feel comfortable with their posts. That is no longer the case."

SLD's Stanislaw Wisniewski: "There is no massive attack by the media on the new government. The media are generally objective. Perhaps there are some overreactions at times, but we have to keep in mind that the media themselves are a group where there are also many differences in how life in the country is perceived—and that is a very good thing."

PSL's Aleksander Luczak [deputy prime minister, education minister]: "I am not sure whether you could call it a war. The media are definitely not good-hearted toward us, that is for sure. Nothing unusual about that—they are not from PSL, they are associated with the political opposition. So they become malicious. For instance, they tend to expose PSL's weak spots over issues of substance. Different minor things get dug up. Attacks by the media are part of a strategy of those parties which oppose this government. Every paper has its sponsor, that is a fact of life." But Luczak refused to share his views on who is behind what paper.

PSL's Tadeusz Jozef Kowalczyk: "That is my feeling indeed [that there is a war going on between the media and the coalition]. I am also extremely sorry that RZECZPOSPOLITA is no longer a government paper. The government should be allowed to respond in a paper like RZECZPOSPOLITA to those attacks which the allegedly independent papers are waging, and to those accusations that they are making. Is the war deliberate? It is certainly a deliberate type of action conducted with a certain goal in mind."

PSL's Miroslaw Pawlak: "The media tend to generate a lot of publicity around issues which should not be dealt with that way. But if we want the situation in the country to normalize, then we must understand that some issues should not get a lot of publicity, while certain others should be exposed—so as to strive toward social unity."

**The Media:**

Andrzej Turski, a director at the Television Information Agency: "In my view, there is no war whatsoever. But there is an oversensitivity on both sides. On the government's side, it demonstrates itself in its representatives reading newspapers, watching television, and listening to the radio, and the only standpoint they take is whether the media are critical of the politicians or pick on them. On the media's side, the oversensitivity demonstrates itself in journalists trying to prove at any cost to themselves and to their acquaintances that they are indeed independent."

Dariusz Szymczycha, TRYBUNA's editor in chief: "Freedom of speech was created precisely to enable expression of different views. It is not my perception that there should be a major campaign, or war, going on. But what I can see, is a kind of lack of friendliness toward the government and lack of faith in it. But I am against overreacting.

"The change which occurred on 19 September was shocking, not just to politicians but also to the media people. That is why their mutual relationship is going through this period, but it will eventually settle down. It is certainly not a case of tormenting someone just for the sake of it. Perhaps there is some jealousy in part of my colleagues who are also journalists, about that the parties that they had been favoring before the elections, ultimately lost."

Ernest Skalski, GAZETA WYBORCZA's deputy editor in chief: "This is certainly very painful for the government. But I think that what is happening is fully within the limits of legally allowed criticism of the government. As far as our paper is concerned, we have not agreed upon any strategy in this regard. Indeed, we are critical of some left-wing measures or working style, but on the other hand, we like the continuation of privatization for instance. It is not our intention to wage a war on the government."

Tomasz Wolek, ZYCIE WARSZAWY's editor in chief: "In my view, the media are not waging any war whatsoever, and there is no malicious campaign, either. But it should be obvious that in the process of getting ever more independent, the press is by definition opposed to any kind of government. This is not the case due to cussedness by the press or its antipathy toward the government, but due to the very essence of the press."

## National Radio Becomes Public Company

*LD0312224293 Warsaw PAP in English 2223 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 3—Finance Minister Marek Borowski on Friday signed the notarial agreements to transform Polish national radio into a public company, "Polskie Radio SA." At the same time, Borowski signed the documents to create a further three regional radio companies.

"Polskie Radio SA," with its headquarters in Warsaw, has assets valued at 83.7 billion zlotys (about 4 million dollars). Its new president is Krzysztof Michalski.

The new regional companies cover the Lublin, Rzeszow and Zielona Gora areas, joining the 13 regional companies already set up under the broadcasting restructuring proposals. The final company will be formed before the end of 1993.

According to a cabinet decision of March 1993, Poland's broadcasting network is to be split into 19 state-owned public companies by January 1, 1994—comprising 17 regional radio companies, national radio, and national television.

## Most Poles See Nation Going in 'Wrong Direction'

*WS0612125893 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4-5 Dec 93 p 2*

[Report by K.O.: "Post-Election Pessimism"]

[Text] Despite the fact that the last elections were won by leftist parties, whose voters had hoped for major changes in the social and economic policy, most Poles, according to Demoskop, think that things are going in the wrong direction in Poland. The respondents are also afraid that unemployment will not drop and prices will increase.

Opinions of respondents did not depend on where they live. However, more inhabitants of towns and cities than those of villages think that prices will be increasing faster than they are increasing now. Also, young Poles are greater optimists: most people in Poland believe that things are going in the wrong direction (43 percent); however, persons between 20 and 24 years old are more often optimistic (47 percent) than pessimistic (43 percent). The level of optimism depended on the level of education of the respondents: persons with a higher education believe more often than others that things in our country are going in the right direction.

According to Demoskop, also statements by the new government that it will firmly combat unemployment, have not persuaded the people that something will change in this area. Only 15 percent of the respondents believe that unemployment will decrease. About 76 percent are not of this opinion (41 think it will increase and 35 percent believe that it will remain at the same level). Persons with the lowest incomes and those over 59 years of age are most afraid of an increase in unemployment.

Demoskop claims that Poles think that prices will keep increasing; however, most are convinced that it will not happen as fast as it is happening now (50 percent). About 29 percent of the respondents are of the opposite opinion. Also inhabitants of towns and cities, as well as persons with very low incomes are more afraid of price increases.

The poll was conducted between 19 and 24 November in a representative group of Poles who are 15 years of age or older.

Are things in our country going in the right or in the wrong direction?

18 percent—hard to tell

38 percent—in the right direction

44 percent—in the wrong direction

## PD-FSN Leaders Blamed for Rally Disturbance

*AU0312192293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1758 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/12/1993—Reviewing in a press conference on Friday the national day festivities attended also by the Romanian president, the presidency counselor and spokesman Traian Chebeleu said that "these festivities reached their climax with the meeting in Alba Iulia attended by over one hundred thousand people."

The absence of the several leaders of opposition parties, regrettable by itself, did not affect the character of national celebration of the celebrations in Alba Iulia, the spokesman said. These opposition parties were represented instead by presidents of county councils, mayors and other officials coming from all the counties. "In opposition to the rally in Alba Iulia, the rally in Bucharest staged by the Democratic Convention appeared to be rather a manifestation with a bold electoral character, in which the national symbol of December 1 was used by certain parties to reassert their monarchical option," spokesman Chebeleu said.

In connection with the December 1 incident in Alba Iulia, presidential spokesman Traian Chebeleu told the press the following:

"At the close of the national assembly, while the official guests were making for the Union Hall where another moment of the celebrations—the presentation of credentials—was scheduled, a group of 60-70 persons, including deputy Petre Roman of the Democratic Party(National Salvation Front [PD(FSN]), Radu Berceanu and Adrian Severin [PD(FSN) leaders], who, like they had previously announced, were participating in the celebration in the crowd, walked through the interval between the guard of honour and the official stalls holding hands in chain, so they managed to break through two cordons of guards and were stopped by a third one.

"Recognized by the guards, the three parliamentarians were allowed through the last cordon, although the place where they tried to enter the union hall was not the one the organizers had established, but, since the other persons accompanying them did not have documents of access there, they were invited to attend the cultural events proceeding on stages outside. The members of the group refused to do so and vehemently demanded the three parliamentarians to give up their intention to enter the Union Hall. Petre Roman, Adrian Severin and Radu Berceanu returned to the group of demonstrators and they were allowed passage through the three cordons without any obstruction or offence. No verbal or physical violence was registered.

"Associating this attempt to break through with [words indistinct] a plan for the purposeful delaying of a train running to Alba Iulia (alarm was activated in the car carrying the PD(FSN) parliamentarians), we believe it is not out of place to think of a scenario that pursued to generate tension in order to upset the activities organized in marking the Great Union anniversary.

"It is sure that all forces in that part of the device discharged their mission, acting legally, in a considerate, preventive and conciliatory manner," presidential spokesman Traian Chebeleu stated.

Most questions addressed to the presidency spokesman Traian Chebeleu at the press conference on Friday, December 3, referred to the diplomatic incident occurred at the solemn meeting of the Parliament, dedicated to the 75th anniversary of the Great Union, whereby the representatives of Hungary and Ukraine left the room following a statement made by a parliamentarian from Chisinau. Spokesman Chebeleu said the official explanation of the two representatives of their countries's embassies in Bucharest had incriminated some alleged territorial claims of Romania against Hungary and Ukraine. "Of course, such a matter is out of discussion," the presidency spokesman said.

In other line of ideas, the presidency spokesman said the appearance on television of the president of the Democratic Convention (CDR), Emil Constantinescu, had been a "surprise" since he had not made an appeal to calm in order to avoid unwanted disorders as he had previously claimed while asking the television leadership for time on the air, but took advantage of the situation in order to call on the people to the Bucharest meeting of the following day. The appeal made by the president of the CD and addressed to Patriarch Teoctist asking him not to participate in the Alba Iulia festivities was also termed by the presidency spokesman as a "surprise."

Asked by a reporter whether ex-King Mihai would be permitted to come to the country in a near future using his current passport, the presidency spokesman rejected such a possibility saying: "With such a passport, the former King will not be able to enter the country."

The president of Romania exercised his constitutional prerogatives on pardoning a number of convicts. "It is about cases which do not entail a special social peril whose term of conviction was under two or three years of which a good share has already been served" the presidency spokesman said. The pardoning includes neither the former members of the Executive Political Committee of the Communist Party nor some well-known names as alleged by the Hungarian Democratic Union (UDMR), cited recently by the press.

## Party Blames 'Current Power'

*AU0312200093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 3 Nov 93*

[Text] In connection with the Alba Iulia incident in which leaders of the Democratic Party (National Salvation Front) [PD(FSN)] were involved, the PD(FSN) Press Bureau sent us by fax a communique that emphasizes, among other things, that, after the conclusion of

the official festivity, the PD(FSN) leaders, followed by some 2,000 supporters, tried to leave the Roman Plateau by the same route that they were allowed in. To their and their supporters' stupefaction, the communique reads, the PD(FSN) leaders were met near the rostrum, which had already been vacated by the officials who stood there, by a strong detachment of public order guards, which forbade them to pass through. On coming into direct contact with the public order forces, the PD(FSN) parliamentarians were applied blows specific to anti-terrorist hand-to-hand combat.

Along with the PD(FSN) parliamentarians, a large number of citizens, supporters, and parliamentarians of the Civic Alliance Party [PAC] and the Liberal Party-1993 [PL'93] were also attacked.

The communique of the PD(FSN) Press Bureau denounces the positions expressed by Mr. Adrian Nastase, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies and executive president of the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR], and by the Alba prefect in connection with this incident and considers that it was provoked by the current power.

## Melescanu Views Relations With Croatia, FRY

*AU0612094193 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 29 Nov 93 p 7*

[Interview with Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Viorei Melescanu by Mate Piskor; place and date not given: "No Changing Borders"]

[Text] Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Viorei Melescanu has a doctorate in political science and is one of the most prominent Romanian politicians. He is an internationally renowned diplomat. He has been with the Romanian mission at the UN and other international organizations, and he was state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The arrangements for this interview were very brief; his cabinet chief only asked us to bring a few general questions some 10 minutes before the time arranged for him to meet reporters. We discussed three important topics: relations between Romania and Croatia, the situation in the former Yugoslavia and possible solutions to the crisis, and the present situation in Romania, which, after the revolution in 1989, has undergone many political, economic, and social changes.

[Piskor] Mr. Melescanu, your country was among the first to recognize the sovereign Croatian state. Now, almost three years later, how do you see the political, economic, and cultural relations between the two countries—the Republic of Romania and the Republic of Croatia?

[Melescanu] Romania recognized Croatia immediately after the European Community did. President Iliescu has visited Croatia twice, several official delegations at foreign minister level have been exchanged, the delegation of your parliament, headed by Mr. Mesic, has been here, and Dr. Tudjman was invited by President Iliescu to visit Romania from 22 to 24 November. We would like these relations to continue; we want to establish good relations with all the countries that have emerged on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Political relations between Romania and Croatia have an upward trend, and we hope that economic ones will follow.

[Piskor] Bad weather postponed President Tudjman's visit to Romania. Considering that it had been agreed that the two presidents would sign several very important agreements, will the postponement of visit slow down the positive trend in relations between the two countries?

[Melescanu] We consider Dr. Tudjman's visit very important. Unfortunately, circumstances were such that the visit was postponed, but, judging by the agreement between the two presidents, the Croatian president will accept the Romanian president's invitation and visit us soon, in January 1994. The important inter-state agreements will be signed then. I do not think that the development of good relations will be slowed down, as there is no reason for this. Relations will develop in a normal way, and the talks between the two presidents, and their signatures on certain agreements, will add more political importance and incentive for the establishment of even better political and economic relations.

[Piskor] Romania had very close relations with the former Yugoslavia. Now the country has disintegrated, what are the main guidelines of Romanian foreign policy with regard to the former Yugoslavia?

[Melescanu] Romania supports all the decisions of the international community regarding the ending of the war conflicts and preventing a wider destabilization of the Balkan region. This is the present situation. We would like the war in the former Yugoslavia to stop, and we would like to establish good relations with all the countries that have emerged from the former Yugoslav Federation. This is our main guideline, as we are a country that bordered the former Yugoslavia and had exceptionally good political and economic ties with it. We would like to establish good political and economic ties with all, and we continue to emphasize that the recognition of the borders as they were before the conflicts started are of primary interest for the safety of the entire region.

[Piskor] In your opinion, what solutions and what moves can lead to peace on the territory of the former Yugoslavia?

[Melescanu] The solution should be sought within the framework of the Geneva talks, through a political agreement, and not through war. War leads to disaster, further conflicts lead to the realistic possibility that the war might spread, and we, as a neighboring country, have been making efforts to prevent that. We consider President Tudjman's initiative a completely realistic and generally acceptable basis for the establishment of peace, which is the condition for any further agreements and negotiations.

[Piskor] The international community has stated that Romania has recently been observing the UN embargo on the so-called FRY, although it thereby suffers great economic damage. It must be in the interest of your country that the embargo be lifted. How do you think it should be done?

[Melescanu] It is our obligation, as a member of the UN, the Council of Europe, and other international institutions, strictly to implement the embargo. On the other hand, we consider the embargo very important for putting pressure on the "FRY" to start negotiating the political solution to the crisis. We have been suffering greatly from the embargo, but we link the lifting of the sanctions with the evolution of the policies of the "FRY". If their policies evolve towards seeking a peaceful solution, we will support the lifting of the sanctions.

[Piskor] Mr. Melescanu, there are many minorities living both in Croatia and in Romania. What is the policy of your country toward the rights of the national minorities, and how would you assess the present and the future of the position of the Croatian minority in Romania?

[Melescanu] Romania could once be accused of not observing the rights of the minorities, but now, since the revolution, the situation is completely different. According to the Constitution and in practice, the minorities have all the rights in accordance with European and international criteria. The state gives them material help, and each politically organized minority has a representative in the state parliament. Unfortunately, the Croatian minority is not politically organized, and thus at the last elections they did not have a representative for parliament. I believe that the situation will change after the next elections. President Iliescu has received the representatives of the Croatian minority, was introduced to their problems, and promised to help as much as possible. Romania and Croatia have concluded an agreement on cultural and educational cooperation, which can only help the Croatian national minority, as well as the overall development of interstate cooperation and the process by which the two countries become aquainted with each other.

[Piskor] An overall reform is being carried out in the Republic of Romania—reform of the economy, state organization, and parliamentary democracy. Are you personally satisfied with what has been achieved?

[Melescanu] Since the communist system was overthrown, radical changes in the political and economic systems have been taking place. The disorder and the crisis in our society before the revolution in 1989 had been so great that it was impossible to deal with all the consequences immediately. Many things have changed, and I believe that, through our own great efforts, and with the help of the international community, in the interest of which it must be that Romania, the only "island of peace" in this part of Europe, be stable, the reforms will yield results, and that the people will live better. The political and economic systems are also undergoing change in Croatia, but, despite the war, the situation is not as difficult as ours. Your economy and the freedoms that you enjoyed were at a much higher level than in Romania, even before the reforms. We are therefore interested in establishing not only political, but also economic cooperation, which was once at a very high level.

## Melescanu Comments on NACC Meeting

*AU0612084293 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] The chief of Romanian diplomacy, Mr. Teodor Melescanu, returned to Bucharest yesterday after participating in the CSCE foreign ministers' meeting in Rome and in the meeting of the Foreign Ministers' Committee of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council [NACC] in Brussels.

In an exclusive statement for our station on his arrival, Mr. Melescanu emphasized that these meetings were an opportunity for him to discuss Romania's use of the European structures of which it is a member and to point out the contribution our country can make—through participation in these structures—to solving the problems of European interest.

Among the official meetings during the sessions, Teodor Melescanu mentioned discussions with the European commissioner in charge of foreign relations, security issues, and expanding the European Community, Hans van den Broek, whom he asked for urgent financial assistance following the conclusion of the accord with the IMF.

In the dialogue with the European commissioner it transpired that preparations have already begun to look for these funds and that the European Community is prepared to assist Romania financially. The two sides also broached the possibility of gaining trade advantages and the request for Romanian citizens to travel freely to the countries of the European Union.

The NACC meeting in Brussels, the Romanian foreign minister continued, discussed European security issues, as well as Romania's security. One can note the acceptance of the idea that all countries in Central and Eastern Europe must enjoy equal security conditions within the partnership for peace program, which has been launched by the U.S. Administration, Mr. Melescanu said. He added that at the end of the meeting he was convinced that Romania was being treated without any discrimination.

## Reform Issues Examined With IMF Officials

*AU0412192293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1535 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 4/12/1993—The technical details of the programme Romania intends to enforce in order to stimulate the reform were examined Friday, 3

December, by the Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu and Finance Minister Florin Georgescu with the IMF delegation to Bucharest, formed of executive director Goddard A. Posthumus, Maxwell Watson, representing IMF in the relations with Romania, and Joshua Green, IMF resident in Romania.

The programme is included in the memorandum Romania and the IMF are to sign next week.

In a brief analysis of the main ideas of the memorandum, Prime Minister Vacaroiu specified that the steps the government took in 1993 with a view to laying the foundations of a market economy, such as the liberalisation of prices, of sales commissions, of the foreign trade, the instatement of the value-added tax, were all part of a package of measures agreed upon with the IMF mission, and that they all aimed at strengthening financial discipline and keeping the budget deficit at the level mutually agreed upon.

The executive's main line of action in 1994, the premier said, is to dynamise restructuring and privatisation. As for the formation of the budget so as to maintain an acceptable deficit for this phase of the transition period, the package of fiscal laws the memorandum makes provision for has already been forwarded to parliament. One item is missing from it, the law on profit tax, the draft of which is yet to be completed with IMF assistance.

The prime minister also said that his cabinet's main preoccupation is to ensure a real social welfare during this period.

Maxwell Watson said he was extremely satisfied that an agreement had been reached on the major aspects of the structural changes of Romania with the aid of the IMF experts. He underlined the psychological effect the signing of the documents with IMF was going to have for Romania both at home and abroad.

## PNTCD's Coposu Favors 'Censure Motion'

*AU0612124893 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] At today's weekly news conference of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD], the president of that political grouping, Mr. Corneliu Coposu, said, quote, we are in favor of a censure motion—all that is left to discuss is an appropriate date for submitting it, end quote. He said that he accepts that the decision of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] is in accordance with requests on this from several revolutionary organizations and from certain trade union confederations; the date of the introduction of the censure motion will be decided after consultations with them.

The government's failure to observe its pledges, the alarming state of poverty, the unchecked inflation, the threatening increase in unemployment, the stagnation of reform, and the escalation of corruption are but a few of the economic and social reasons for this decision. To this should be added certain political reasons, particularly linked to the attitude adopted during the 1 December celebrations, PNTCD President Coposu said, as related by our correspondent Sorin Aman.

## Data on Agriculture, Transportation Issued

*AU0312192893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1151 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/12/1993—Crop gathering was almost completed in Romania until November 22, reports the National Statistical Board. More than one third of the area planned, i.e. 1,669.3 thousand ha, was ploughed up to then.

As for animal breeding, the source reports an increase for all species as against the beginning of the current year—by 28.5 thousand more cattle, by 1,791.9 thousand more pigs, by 513.9 thousand more sheep and goats.

Over the first ten months the state bought from domestic private farmers 43.5 percent more wheat than in the same period of last year, 46 percent less barley and two-row barley, 76.6 percent less maize.

When it comes to transport, both goods and passenger transport reported decline over January-October 1993 as against the similar period of 1992. The volume of transported goods diminished by 20.5 percent, road transport 30.1 percent lower, air transport 34.5 percent lower, sea transport 60.4 percent lower. Figures on passenger transport are lower for all types, but for air transport, which reported a 2.1 percent increase on the same period of last year, says the National Board of Statistics.

## Izetbegovic, Silajdzic Comment on Geneva Talks

*AU0312180693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[News conference by Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic and Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic "immediately upon their return from Geneva" in Sarajevo on 3 December—recorded; all questions translated from English into Serbo-Croatian; Izetbegovic speaks Serbo-Croatian; Silajdzic speaks English, unless indicated otherwise, with consecutive Serbo-Croatian translation]

[Text] [Izetbegovic] (?I would like) to say a few words about the trip and the conference [words indistinct], a brief statement.

As you can see, we were in a hurry to come back. We ended the talks last night, and as you can see, we were in a hurry to come back and address you. We arrived about 20 minutes ago, about half an hour ago.

I can say that nothing much was achieved in Geneva, which does not mean that we achieved nothing at all. I could sum up the result like this: The arrangements regarding the safety of the passage of humanitarian convoys have been reaffirmed, and—based on these talks, that is, arrangements—we expect that the passage of convoys through Bosnia-Herzegovina will be stabilized. Of course, snow will present a new problem. I hope that this will be the only problem. According to the agreement reached there, we can also expect the stabilization of the delivery of natural gas to Sarajevo. We took the opportunity to include Zenica, too, in the delivery of gas. However, it remains to be seen how much of this will actually happen. Still, I have to tell you that these were our two major concerns at the talks, the humanitarian problems in Bosnia.

However, we spend most of the time in political talks, mostly with the Serbian side. We discussed the delicate issue of Sarajevo. I have to tell you—in order to remove any doubts regarding that matter—that we have no intention, and we will never accept the division of Sarajevo. I have heard some people, for whatever reasons, persistently spreading the stories that the talks were about the division of Sarajevo. Regardless of how the issue is solved, we are not withdrawing from any part of the city we now hold. I want the fighters to hear this, and all the citizens from Dobrinja to Bostarici. Of course! Some 10 to 15 days ago there were talks about our withdrawal, our handover of Bostarici, which has never even crossed our minds. Now there are talks about our withdrawal from Dobrinja, and again it has never crossed our minds to give up Dobrinja, and we will never do so under any conditions. What we will do, and continue to do, is to seek a solution for Sarajevo. We believe that it is our responsibility to do that, that we owe it to the citizens of this city to finally solve the issue of Sarajevo in such a way that our children will no longer be killed in schoolyards, that our people will no longer be dying of hunger and the cold. This is constantly on our agenda, and we will keep trying to resolve it. However, if we find a better and faster solution in the meantime, and I stress faster because this issue, that is, the opening of the town (?under the supervision of the UN) can be delayed considerably, it could even happen that the solution would still be lacking by the next winter. Regarding territorial questions, we have reiterated our demands that territories be returned to us and, naturally, we have repeated our demand for sovereignty over a part of the country around Neum and for access to this part of the country. For the time being, the Croatian side has rejected this solution regarding Neum. I say for the time being because I believe that it will not be able to persist in this position. We have the right to access to the sea, to access to the sea near Neum. This is our right. Regarding the discussions about the territories, they were very difficult and exhausting, however, for now they have produced no results. This would roughly be the results of our talks in Geneva.

[Words indistinct], please! Myself and Dr. Silajdzic stand at your disposal to answer your questions. It was mostly us who conducted these talks although we constantly consulted the rest of the delegation. However, certain regulations demanded that the talks be held in two's and, therefore, myself and Dr. Silajdzic went for most of these talks. It seems to me that this pre-electoral atmosphere in Bosnia here [pauses] that the Serbian side took advantage of these talks for its electoral campaign.

[Unidentified correspondent] Keeping in mind the lack of progress at the Geneva talks, why did you agree to resume the talks on 15 December?

[Izetbegovic] Because we believe that a solution can be found. There is hope that a solution can be found. Let me first say that this date has still not been set. An agreement was reached that the talks should continue at an appropriate time. If the other sides come to these talks, so will we.

[Unidentified EUROPEAN correspondent] Mr. President, you mentioned the UN option [for the administration of Sarajevo], the reserve option. What sort of time scale are you thinking about? Is it a matter of weeks or months before you will seriously consider taking up that UN option?

[Izetbegovic] As you know, that is a part of the Geneva package. A two-year UN mandate over Sarajevo was envisaged, and by the end of that time, a final solution could be found. When I mentioned the United Nations, I was thinking of this solution. The timing is uncertain. When could that happen? It could happen only when such an agreement, such a package, is finally signed. As you can see, it can be delayed considerably, that is, it could be a long time coming.

[Unidentified AP correspondent] What was the need for the second agreement on humanitarian aid since the prime minister had already signed such an agreement with Mrs. Ogata, barely 10 days before?

[Izetbegovic] I wondered about that myself, and I also do not think there was any particular need for that. Those who came up with that idea should answer that question. Still, I believe that their aim was to get the signatures from the military commanders on that document. That is what I think.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. President, there was also some talk of exchanging access to Gorazde for some suburbs of Sarajevo such as Ilijas. Well, at least the Serbs said that. Were there any discussions along those lines?

[Izetbegovic] There was never any talk of exchanging Gorazde for any territory. A discussion on this is out of the question.

[Unidentified correspondent] Talking about Sarajevo, without any kind of division of Sarajevo, regarding the UN plan as separate, what other solutions for Sarajevo were discussed and was the Sarajevo situation linked in any way to the territorial situation in the east, the north, or in any other area?

[Izetbegovic] No, no, I have said that we are greatly interested in resolving the issue of Sarajevo in a reasonable, short period of time. The situation in Sarajevo does not permit long postponements, but a solution cannot yet be seen through the entire peace package. The people continue dying. I have heard that two people died and several were injured again today. This tragic series of killings has thus continued over the last 10 or 15 days. We must find a solution for Sarajevo.

The Serbian side said it had a proposal that would, in their opinion, be acceptable to us. Initially, we responded negatively toward negotiations about Sarajevo, but then we decided to nevertheless hear this proposal. We asked ourselves, why not hearing the proposal out. They then put forward an idea about the creation of two parallel towns, emphasizing explicitly that this does not mean the division of the town, but a creation of a parallel town to Sarajevo. The way they have presented it to us, this part of the town would entail Pale, Lukavica, Ilidza, and Rajlovac. They have also mentioned Grbavica as a part of this town in the talks, which, we naturally rejected. This is the essence of their idea, which we discussed with them.

For the opening of the town, they offered to trade Vogosca and Ilijas for parts in eastern Bosnia. On that occasion we naturally mentioned Gorazde, because we could never discuss Gorazde, but they mentioned Srebrenica. We rejected this proposal. Therefore, we did not [word indistinct] for Gorazde but for Srebrenica. However, they mentioned such a proposal. On the contrary, we demanded that Srebrenica and Tuzla be linked via Cerska and Konjevic Polje. We insisted on this and hours have been wasted on this. We examined various options on the map to link Srebrenica territorially with Tuzla. However, for the time being they have not accepted this. I believe that they will have to accept.

[Unidentified correspondent, in Serbo-Croatian] A question for Mr. Silajdzic. Do you share the optimism of Mr. President regarding the improvement of the humanitarian situation after these talks in Geneva?

[Silajdzic, in Serbo-Croatian] Yes. I believe that this has been confirmed on the field.

[Izetbegovic] However, you should know that, in both cases, this is a rather cautious optimism. Nobody here, after all the experiences encountered in a year and a half, has reason to be a great optimist. However, myself and Silajdzic equally believe in a certain improvement.

[Unidentified correspondent] (?Bosnian side do not want) to give up everything and [word indistinct] it is the only thing [words indistinct] side?

[Silajdzic] They are discussing all kinds of options and you are right in saying that they are rather firm on their position not to return territories seized by force and all territories assigned to them by the September plan. They obviously move their [pauses] I can say that there was not one inch of progress on those territories although all options have been discussed with [words indistinct]. For the time being, unfortunately, we have no tangible progress there. Did that answer your question?

[Silajdzic] I would like to add something to this answer. We have agreed, though, to continue meetings between myself and Mr. Krajisnik. We have had a series of meetings, we intend to continue with meetings. We have to reaffirm the right of free movement. We have reaffirmed the right to choose the place of residence. Those are fundamental rights that could not be interfered with. So there is some progress, but on the essential progress, essential [words indistinct] of territories, unfortunately, for the time being is still all at the starting position.

[Izetbegovic] I would like to add a little explanation here regarding this issue, namely, why were the arrangements and the signing of the arrangements regarding humanitarian issues repeated after the meeting with Mrs. Ogata. I said that the commanders were present on that occasion and it seems that it was important for the organizers of the meeting that soldiers sign this agreement. This could be seen in one document, from which it could be concluded that, after the military commanders have signed this arrangement, those who will obstruct convoys in the future will be considered part of units that are not under control or are simply bandits, that is to say, illegal forces against whom force can be used after the signing of this document. They wanted to obtain such a solution. I do not know whether I was sufficiently clear.

After the signing by the military commanders, the armies under their control have embraced the principle of not obstructing the movement of convoys. All those, therefore, who will do this in the future will work against their commanders and the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] has the right to use force. This can be seen in a document that we signed.

[Silajdzic] [Words indistinct] initiative by [German Foreign] Minister Klaus Kinkel and [French Foreign Minister] Juppe as you know. This initiative was welcomed by the Bosnian Government. They said, they asked us, would you be willing to sign the peace agreement if the minimum of your requests are met, your territorial requests. The answer was yes. So we will stick to our part of the deal. We are waiting for the European Union to deliver their part of the deal.

### Karadzic Praises Milosevic Stand in Geneva Talks

*LD0412180893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1638 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[Text] Novi Sad, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—President of the republic of Srpska Radovan Karadzic told DNEVNIK in Novi Sad that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic destroyed a scenario prepared to demonize the Serbs and to put the blame on the Serbian people if the Geneva negotiations were completely unsuccessful.

In an exclusive statement to the Novi Sad daily Karadzic said that a grand stage was prepared in Geneva and that the plan was to put the Serbs on the pillar of shame again and to blame them for the failure of the peace talks because it was firmly believed that the Serbs simply would not give any additional concessions to the Muslims.

However, Karadzic added, Serbian President Milosevic "taught Europe a lesson, blaming the European Union for unprecedented genocide against the innocent Serbian people."

"The whole thing was well thought out because it was well known that the people's assembly of the republic of Srpska adopted the Stoltenberg-Owen plan only with difficulty. That is why additional concessions [from the Serbs] were insisted upon, linking everything with the gradual easing of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The presence of the 12 European ministers was only additional decoration on the grand stage, aimed at accusing Serbs for not agreeing to the latest concessions to Muslims," Karadzic said.

The president of the republic of Srpska added that the atmosphere is becoming more bearable as the talks continue and that an important step forward was made in Geneva, because the discussion was constructive and open.

He hoped that such talks, expected to resume soon, will result in concrete conclusions.

Discussing Alija Izetbegovic's demand for territorial concessions, Karadzic stressed that there were no concessions for Muslims in eastern Bosnia and that no deal that would fragment ethnic Serb lands would be considered.

As for Sarajevo, Karadzic thought that a certain agreement was reached that Sarajevo be divided into twin cities.

The republic of Srpska president said that both Serbs and Muslims must have access to the sea, and the Croatian side would have to find a favorable and acceptable solution to this.

"The Corfu declaration of 1917 secures this right for everyone, and we have agreed with Croatia not to insist on mutual territorial demarcation for the time being, but to try and create—together—a viable state for the Muslims," said Karadzic.

### Army Commander Optimistic About Talks Outcome

*LD0412195493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[Text] Army General Rasim Delic, commander of the Supreme Command Headquarters of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has made a statement for Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and TV.

[Begin Delic recording] I can say that our delegation's standpoint remains in line with the Assembly's work, that is, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly's conclusions; insisting on resolving the drama of Bosnia-Herzegovina on the basis of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly's conclusions; resolving the state organization in keeping with these conclusions [as heard]. This is also a summary of the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation's demands put forward by the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency at the plenary session in Geneva.

Certainly, there are still dilemmas. One can say that a process has probably been set in motion in resolving the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis. We can say this on the strength of what dominated throughout all these talks, ranging from the attitudes of the 12—who tabled more stringent demands in the course of resolving the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis—to the Serbian and Croatian sides, as well as on the strength of our stands, which have in some sense been accepted by not only the mediators but by influential European politicians, too. It is certain that we cannot say yet that a solution is within reach. There is probably a great deal of work to be done before that stage. In this respect the state organization of the future state of Bosnia-Herzegovina is still being reviewed, in line of course, with the talks that have been held, as well as with future talks.

The basis of what has already been agreed—that is a union of states in Bosnia-Herzegovina—can still be subjected to adequate changes in connection with further work on resolving the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis. Certainly this military agreement, as far as I am concerned, is the dominant element—the implementation of the agreement reached by the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation and those other delegations and [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] Sadako Ogata on 18 November 1993. This refers to the passage of humanitarian convoys and improvements in humanitarian aid in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The essential part of this signed agreement is the fact that, for the first time, it will be possible for

UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] to use force, it will have a right to do so, in the event of humanitarian convoys being denied passage. There is also an obligation on the part of those, shall I say, who control a certain part of territory to facilitate the passage of humanitarian convoys by using force, too. I believe that this is the greatest advance.

Let us wait and see how this will work. In other words, UNPROFOR has no longer an escape route in the sense that it cannot perform its duty because it has been disabled by force or in some other way. In any case I can say, in my capacity as commander of the Supreme Command HQ of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, that I am satisfied with what I saw there, as well as with the atmosphere I experienced. I can also say on my behalf and on behalf of members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army will continue to support the Presidency headed by President Alija Izetbegovic and their efforts to find a way out of this Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis. Knowing that this is a long path, we nevertheless hope that the unravelling of this knot of the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis has in a sense begun. [end recording]

## Presidency Member Suggests Partition of Sarajevo

*AU0512144093 Paris AFP in English 0041 GMT 5 Dec 93*

[Text] Sarajevo, Dec 5 (AFP)—A Serb in the Moslem-dominated Bosnian presidency admitted Saturday [4 December] the possibility of dividing the capital Sarajevo, a move fiercely opposed by Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic.

Mirko Pejanovic told Bosnian television: "For the inhabitants of Sarajevo, the most difficult thing would be to accept solutions that involve partitioning the city. But at the moment we are at war, people are dying, and Sarajevo is divided by force. In the face of that reality, we must stop, talk and find a solution," Pejanovic said. But he added that the division of the city should end once peace had returned.

Izetbegovic expressly ruled out partitioning Sarajevo when he returned from Geneva on Friday after three days of fruitless negotiations with Bosnian Serbs and Croats.

## Izetbegovic Adviser Reacts

*AU0512191693 Paris AFP in English 1857 GMT 5 Dec 93*

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Dec 5 (AFP)—Widespread fighting continued Sunday in Bosnia-Herzegovina, on the eve of a new European Community meeting in Brussels to try to resolve the deep-rooted ethnic conflict. [passage omitted] Forces of the Bosnian Croat HVO militia based in the enclave of Zepce had Saturday cut the communication links of the mainly-Moslem government forces between Maglaj and Tesanj in north-central Bosnia, according to the Bosnian Croat news agency, HABENA. It said they had cut the road and seized heights in a counter-attack after government forces had fired around 250 tank and mortar shells on Zepce, the most serious attack in the area since the outbreak of Croat-Moslem hostilities in the spring. Four people were reportedly killed in the bombardment.

Radio Sarajevo reported that joint Serb and Croat artillery and infantry attacks on Maglaj had killed eight people and wounded 20. Serb Bosnian forces, quoted by TANJUG, said that Moslem forces had stepped up their attacks in the Sarajevo area, shelling 10 areas under Serb control. Tuesday's [7 December] Brussels meeting will try to make progress after the failure on Thursday of talks in Geneva between Serb and Moslem representatives over the territorial partition of Bosnia under an international peace plan.

Kemal Muftic, an adviser to Izetbegovic, ruled out Sunday in an interview with AFP any possibility that Sarajevo itself might be divided, as suggested by the Bosnian Serbs in Geneva. On the prospect of continued negotiations, Muftic said the unhampered delivery of humanitarian aid must first be assured, as already agreed in Genva last week by the parties to the conflict.

## Serbs, Muslims To Press Croats for Sea Access

*LD0512022493 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2315 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[From the "Slikom na Sliku" news magazine]

[Excerpt] This evening Momcilo Krajisnik [Bosnian Serb assembly chairman] explained in more detail the bilateral meetings held between the Muslim, Serbian, and Croatian delegations [in Geneva]. According to Krajisnik, the division of Sarajevo was discussed and the Sarajevo authorities allegedly accepted such an agreement. What should give cause for concern, if it is true, is the fact that the Muslims and the Serbs jointly demanded access to the sea from Croats.

[Begin Krajisnik recording] One of the questions which we discussed separately was access to the sea. We believe that the Muslims have the right to such access. Bosnia-Herzegovina had access to the sea and all three of its nations had this right. We Serbs will demand that we have our rights implemented in Neum or further south along the Montenegrin border. Muslims also have this right and we told this to the Croat delegation. This annoyed the Croats because they were of the opinion that we should not support the Muslim side. We [Muslims and Serbs] reached a preliminary agreement to discuss our joint access to the sea in the southern part of the Adriatic along the Montenegrin border. The Serbs would have their outlet next to the Montenegrin border and the Muslims would have their outlet next to that of the Serbs. [passage omitted] [end recording]

## Delic, UNPROFOR Discuss No-Fly Violations

*LD0512154293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Dec 93*

[Text] In Sarajevo, Army General Rasim Delic, the commander of the supreme command headquarters of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and General Briquemont, the commander of the UN force for Bosnia-Herzegovina, met today. The two generals talked about a number of important issues, concentrating mostly on the issue of the UN resolution banning flights over Bosnia-Herzegovina being violated. The Serbian aggressor has recently increased the frequency of these [no-fly violations].

Gen. Delic pointed out, in particular, the air force's combat activities aimed at villages and towns in the municipalities of [name indistinct], Tuzla, Kalesija, and Teocak where the Serbian aggressor has also been using Galeb-4 [light trainer-fighter] and MIG-29 aircraft, as well as helicopters that have been using Malyutka anti-tank missiles. All this is happening at a time when the UN force is equipped with state-of-the-art technology and authorized to use its air force to prevent casualties, most of whom are civilians living in these municipalities, Gen. Delic stressed. They agreed that joint commissions of the 2nd Corps of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] inspect these locations and officially establish the circumstances surrounding the latest operations carried out by the air force which is flying in from the area of the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

They were also talking about the implementation of the agreement on the passage of convoys carrying humanitarian aid, as Gen. Delic lent his full support to all the elements of the latest Geneva agreement. In this context, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Army will provide full cooperation and assume full responsibility for the passage of convoys through zones of responsibility under its control.

The two commanders also talked about the situation in the Bihac region, as well as about repairs to pontoon bridges in the Bijela areas on the Mostar-Sarajevo road scheduled for the next few days, it is said in a statement by the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Army press center.

## General Alert in Sarajevo After Serb Attack

*LD0612093893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0903 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Sarajevo has come under attack once again this morning from Serbian positions overlooking the city. The general alert went off around 0800 this morning, sending the residents of the embattled city to their shelters.

## Shell Kills Four

*AU0612113193 Paris AFP in English 1114 GMT 6 Dec 93*

[Text] Sarajevo, Dec 6 (AFP)—At least four people were killed Monday [6 December] when shells slammed into Sarajevo's main cemetery, a photographer on the spot said.

More shells were falling on the centre of town around midday (1100 GMT).

## Serb Attacks Reportedly Continuing

*AU0612100493*

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 6 December carries in its regular 13-minute newscast the following reports on the fighting in the republic.

Olovo correspondent Velid Djindo reports that, "in the past 24 hours the joint aggressor has continued fiercely to attack Olovo. As usual, the aggressors' destructive long-range artillery was used the entire defense line, and also the town and surrounding villages. The fiercest fighting again took place in and around Batici, (?Kusevo), Gradina, and Kremenjaca. Unsuccessful attempts at infantry breakthroughs at the southern access points to Olovo went on the entire day, and ended late last night with a sudden infantry attack on Salihovac in the Batici region. However, our army reacted swiftly and repelled this deadly attack." Djindo also says that the aggressor is "bringing in new forces and regrouping the existing ones, particularly in the area of Grabovica and Olovske Luke, where a constant [words indistinct] on the Ajdanovici-Krivajlici route."

Hajrudin Sermic reports from Maglaj and says that "the offensive against Maglaj is not abating. The joint aggressor—the Chetniks from Mt. Ozren and Doboj, and Lozancic's troops—have been attempting infantry breakthroughs since early morning in the region of Nekolje and Gorice. [Words indistinct] Civilian buildings in the town and on the outskirts are being targeted."

Brcko correspondent Hamid Deronjic reports that "in the past 24 hours, the Brcko front has been marked by the Serbian aggressor's provocations. Intense provocations were registered yesterday in the regions of Tulumovici, Dubravice Donje, and Dubrave. On two occasions, at 0930 and at 1800, the enemy used Bofors guns. The aggressor used 82-mm mortars in the region of Dubravice Donje and Dubrave. [Words indistinct] Sometime between 1200 and 1300 yesterday, two enemy transport helicopters were sighted flying on the Brcko-Bijeljina route. Almost simultaneously, a large convoy of the aggressor's transport and combat vehicles passed through Brcko."

The studio announcer-reads a report from the press center of the armed forces of the Sarajevo region and says that in the course of the night "the Chetniks fired

two mortar shells at the region of Bariste, while from his positions on Borije and (?Prlevici), the enemy fired two projectiles which landed in the close proximity of the building housing the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Immediately following this, at around 2255, two mortar shells were fired at Dobrinja 4. At 0650 this morning, the aggressor fired two mortar shells from Mrkovici at the city."

### Ministry Condemns UNPROFOR 'Conduct'

*AU0312175493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] At the recently ended Geneva session, an agreement was reached regarding the unimpaired passage of humanitarian convoys and, what is more important, the international community has adopted a decision to use force in order to protect the convoys and corridors. This is confirmed in a statement issued by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Interior Ministry.

Unfortunately, the conduct of the international community's peace forces on the ground remains at complete odds with this just adopted decision. The members of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] are not only not responding with force to every act that hinders the unimpaired distribution of humanitarian aid, but they are also trying to cover up and hide from the public other incidents as well. They also try to keep them secret from their superiors in New York. According to information confirmed in Kiseljak, members of the Serbian aggressor army yesterday stopped UN peace troops in Rogatica that were supposed to escort the humanitarian convoys for Gorazde. After a detailed search, which included searching every single UN troop, despite the numerous sharp protests voiced by UNPROFOR officers, the members of the peace forces were forced to return to Pale because they were not allowed to proceed on their way.

### 'Around 100' Serbs Killed in Teocak Combat

*LD0412200793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[Excerpt] Since early this morning chetniks have been launching artillery attacks on free Teocak territory, targeting residential areas and civilians. Chetniks have been using howitzers, tanks, mortars, and multiple rocket launchers, intensively shelling defense lines and civilian targets. On several occasions the aggressor's air force dropped cluster bombs on villages in the Teocak area. When the chetniks were preparing a fresh tank and infantry attack on Laze, our soldiers launched a counter-attack. Hand to hand combat flared up and the drama lasted for three hours.

The chetniks lost one tank, two anti-aircraft guns, and one armored personnel carrier. Around 100 Chetniks were killed and 1 was captured. Mersed Celikovic, Nail Hasanovic, and Nedzad Abdulahovic from the village of Snjeznica died courageously in fighting today. Seven soldiers were seriously wounded and 10 slightly. [passage omitted]

### Muslim, Croatian Attacks on Serbs Reported

*LD0512160493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1539 GMT 5 Dec 93*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Bratunac, Dec 5 (TANJUG)—On Sunday [5 December] the Moslems stepped up attacks on Serb positions in Bosnia, and the Croats continued attacking the Serbs, TANJUG learned from Bosnian Serb military sources today. The sources added that inter-Moslem conflicts are continuing unabated.

In the entire Sarajevo region renewed were the extremely strong Moslem artillery-infantry attacks on all Serb-held parts of the city and the positions of the Bosnian Serb Army. In the Majevica front, northeastern Bosnia, the Moslems continued provocations and in the region of Gorazde, Moslem enclave in eastern Bosnia, the Moslem offensive was renewed, primarily towards Cajnice and Foca. The Bosnian Serb military sources said that in the region of Orasje, northern Bosnia, the Croats continued provoking the Serbs.

The sources report the continued inter-Moslem clashes in western Bosnia and in the region of Zenica and Travnik, and in the area of Bugojno, central Bosnia.

### Abdic Forces Advancing Toward Cazin

*LD0412234193 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2310 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The fiercest fighting so far is going on in Cazinska Krajina between the supporters of Fikret Abdic and Alija Izetbegovic.

Abdic's forces have succeeded over the past 24 hours in moving the front about another 2 kms toward Cazin and Bihac. The headquarters loyal to Izetbegovic admits that during yesterday's advance by Abdic's units, five of Izetbegovic's supporters were killed and 12 wounded. It is, however, believed that the number of killed and injured is significantly greater and that Abdic's army also suffered considerable losses. A large number of the killed are civilians.

The fighting is continuing. Abdic's units are fully mobilized but their final victory is still very uncertain, because Bihac, Cazin, and especially Buzim continue to be powerful strongholds of Izetbegovic's supporters.

### 'Fierce' Inter-Muslim Fighting Reported

*LD0512202393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 5 Dec 93*

[Text] Fierce fighting was registered today along all demarcation lines between pro-Izetbegovic forces and

people's defense units of the autonomous province of Western Bosnia, loyal to Fikret Abdic. The 517th Cazin Brigade [loyal to Izetbegovic] lost almost all of its 700 soldiers today. Some of them were captured and others joined the ranks of the people's defense forces.

### Government Troops Join Abdic Forces in West

*LD0412214693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[Text] The Defense Ministry and Police Information Service of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia reports that forces of national defense today continued their furious struggle against the remains of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. The western Bosnia forces are being joined by an increasing number of citizens from the Bihac and Cazin municipalities.

The same source adds that the forces of national defense have liberated another 11 villages and that they, together with the citizens of Cazin and the displaced population of Bihac, are within 4 kms from Bihac municipality.

Over 300 combatants of the 5th Corps have defected to the forces of national defense, while 600 soldiers have refused to fire at their own people.

### Minister Accuses UN Forces of Supporting Abdic

*LD0512220993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 5 Dec 93*

[Text] Mirsad Veladzic, [Bosnia-Herzegovina Government] minister coordinator for the Bihac-Banja Luka district, has lodged a protest with General Francois Briquemont, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina:

The note says: Mr. Briquemont, I have lodged this protest with you about the activities of UNPROFOR members in the Bihac district. According to our reliable reports, UNPROFOR has been actively taking part in the transport of Fikret Abdic's rebels through the so-called republic of Serb Krajina, from which intense attacks are being launched against members of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

As you know, according to UN resolution 836, this whole area is a safe zone. Recent events represent a flagrant violation of the resolution by those who were supposed to implement it.

It should also be mentioned that for two months now parliamentary deputies from the Bihac area have not been able to return to their homes, for reasons which we cannot understand. Our humanitarian aid has been suspended while Agrokomerc [Abdic-controlled food industry] trucks, unhindered, have been delivering goods from the Republic of Croatia supposedly for the entire region.

I do not know how you explain this to yourself, Mr. Briquemont. We can only explain this behavior of yours in one possible way. UNPROFOR is on the rebel side and it is active in supporting the secession of this part of the republic. That is why we not only demand your explanation of this behavior but also ask you to behave in accordance with your mandate and UN regulations.

### UNPROFOR: Krajina Serbs Supporting Abdic

*AU0512172293 Paris AFP in English 1705 GMT 5 Dec 93*

[Text] Sarajevo, Dec 5 (AFP)—Forces loyal to maverick Moslem leader Fikret Abdic in the northwest Bosnian enclave of Bihac are receiving the support of Serb separatists in neighbouring Croatia in their fight against government troops, a U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] spokesman said Sunday [5 December]. Abdic's forces, which control the northern part of the enclave, maintained their offensive Saturday and gained five kilometres (three miles) to the south and three kilometres (two miles) to the east, Idesbald van Biesebroeck said. Abdic, a millionaire businessman who made his fortune under communism and challenged Alija Izetbegovic unsuccessfully for the Bosnian presidency, has proclaimed autonomy from Sarajevo for the enclave where he is by far the main employer.

Van Biesebroeck said Abdic's forces were carrying out attacks on government forces via Serb-held territory in Croatia, and probably receiving artillery support from the Serbs, who have proclaimed their own republic in the Krajina region, comprising a quarter of Croatian territory.

The military situation in the rest of Bosnia-Herzegovina was calm Sunday following clashes overnight southeast of Sarajevo on the road leading to the Serb stronghold of Pale. An exchange involving around 300 Moslem and Croat prisoners due to take place Sunday in the southern city of Mostar has been put off to an unspecified later date, a Croat military source said.

Discussions on an exchange of more than 200 Bosnian army troops and up to 80 Croats were continuing between the two sides at Medjugorje, 20 kilometres (12 miles) south of Mostar, but were coming up against a "clear lack of confidence on both sides," humanitarian sources told AFP. The three warring communities are believed to hold about 5,000 prisoners among them.

A Spanish sergeant wounded in a mine blast Saturday that killed another Spanish U.N. peacekeeper has been evacuated to Spain, an UNPROFOR spokesman said.

### Twenty-Four Killed in Clashes in Last 24 Hours

*LD0512162293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Dec 93*

[Text] According to reports compiled over the past 24 hours from the areas of Olovo, Teocak, Kladanj, Bihac, Maglaj, Tesanj, Mostar, and Sarajevo, 24 people have been killed and 77 wounded. In Sarajevo there have been no fatalities, while eight persons have been wounded.

## Zenica Suspends Evacuation of Croats, Serbs

*LD0412202393 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[Text] The mayor of Zenica has suspended the free exit of Croatians and Serbs from Zenica. According to a letter sent by the mayor to international organizations, an earlier decision to evacuate women, children, and those Serbs and Croatians in need of medical treatment has been suspended because of foreign press reports, which are saying that this is also a form of ethnic cleansing.

In the HVO's [Croatian Defense Council] opinion, the decision is cynical because it never encompassed Serbian and Croatian men of military age who were sent out to fight against the HVO.

## Croatian Daily Profiles New HVO Commander

*AU0312144793 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov p 6*

[Article by Marko Barisic: "The Colonel or the Corpse"]

[Text] At present, he is somewhere in the mountains of central Bosnia. He was at Kupres and Vukovar, as well as on the battlefields of Banija and Dalmatia. He took his units wherever it was necessary. Not to the front lines facing the enemy, but to the enemy's rear. Ante Roso, colonel general, the recently appointed commander of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] Command Center, does not like cease-fires and sporadic shooting. He prefers the either-or situation, to be either a colonel or a corpse. He has lost battles, but not wars. He remembers and seldom forgives. He usually settles accounts on the spot. His colleagues fear and respect him. He does not recognize office heroes. He likes warriors.

### The Highest Rank in the Foreign Legion

His biography is a full one. Since he joined the Foreign Legion in the 1970's as a young Croatian emigrant, he has equated his life with the vocation of a soldier. The everyday physical exercise and the mental efforts in mastering military skills won him the title of a professional amongst the legionnaires. He took part in many wars in the French colonies, mainly in Africa. This is why at present he prefers the heat to the snow. This is a habit from his life as a legionnaire, which he led for 20 years. His is the life-time career of a warrior. He has reached the very top of the business he is in. "I was a member of the Second Paratroop Legionnaire Regiment, the most elite formation in Western Europe," said Roso in his only interview so far. He did not say that he holds the rank of colonel, the highest a foreigner can reach in this elite French formation. He retired with this rank, and just as he was starting to enjoy a high income without being in constant danger, the founding of the Croatian state began.

Roso returned to the homeland immediately, having realized that Serbian aggression was being prepared. He enlisted as a volunteer at the special unit in Lucko. He was not the only person to do so. Following his example, most of the Croats from the legionnaire formations arrived. However, one source says that he was not accepted. Namely, Roso has a criminal record, which did not satisfy the requirements for acceptance into the special units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, as they were called in the beginning. As he had not cultivated the manners of a "good boy" who stays out of conflicts and who refrains from solving verbal disagreements by physical fights, Roso was not favored by the representatives of the law at the time. He was used to taking the law into his own hands regardless of the consequences, a habit that he has not given up. Roso does not like half-hearted people, or, as he calls them, sheep. He says: "A flock of sheep led by a lion is worth more than a pack of lions lead by a sheep." He therefore fiercely supported the concept of a professional army when the Croatian Army was being formed. He did not pay much attention to those who wanted to copy the concept of the former Yugoslav People's Army ("total national defense and social self-defense"). Eventually, the model of guard brigades and the Croatian Home Guard was decided upon from on high. Roso knew from his experience as a legionnaire what a well-trained special unit can do. Finally, despite the lack of political support in certain circles, Roso became commander of all the special units of the Croatian Army. During the entire war, apart from leading these units on many fronts, he trained new people. The camps at Sljeme and in Kumrovec are his fields, and this is where later commanders of many Croatian troops (besides Lucko and Rakitje) were recruited. From the beginning he knew what military organization meant and what place the commanding officers had in it. His primary task when he was appointed commander of the HVO was therefore to discipline and organize the army according to professional standards. Roso never works alone. He has his people, whom he appoints to commanding positions, and thus establishes a firm military organization. In this structure there is no room for contemplating whether a decision is good or bad. The tasks have to be carried out, though every commanding officer has complete freedom in making operational decisions. Roso does not interfere there, and each of them can thus show his ability, but also bear the responsibility. It was his men who started the "Maslenica operation" from the enemy's rear. The "Kninjas" of Gracac do not like his name being mentioned.

As a commander and soldier, Roso is greatly admired in high military and political structures in Croatia. In the beginning this was not so. There are stories that upon his arrival in Croatia Boljkovac, the minister at the time, told Tudjman: "What do we need these Ustashas for, what will the international public say if we take them into our troops?" Roso is said to have replied: "I am not an Ustasha, I am a soldier." The task of each soldier is to carry out the orders of the elected political leadership in a professional manner. When it comes to that, Roso has no doubts. He completely obeys political decisions.

### "I Am Not a Ustasha, I Am a Soldier"

All soldiers are loyal to General Roso, from those he trained and subjected to cruel legionnaire drills, to those who have only heard of his work methods and his

fighting. He fights for his soldiers, and in return he demands obedience. Once, when he asked for ranks for his troops (he considers an army with no ranks nonsense), he learned that, contrary to orders, they had ended up somewhere else. He went from one office to another, and after a far from pleasant round of persuasion, he recovered them and distributed them to his soldiers. Long after arriving in Croatia, he even slept in his office. Unlike most of his colleagues, he did not move into an empty apartment of a former officer of the Yugoslav People's Army, which is against the law. He settled in only recently. His family still lives abroad (his wife is French), and are entrepreneurs.

Roso does not talk much, especially about himself. He has only had three public appearances (a television interview, a newspaper interview, and an agency report). This is why various rumors are going round. "I am a southerner, my family is from Herzegovina, and there is no force and no right... to stop me returning there and fighting if necessary," he said recently. Shortly afterwards, this turned out to be true (though some claim that he is in fact from Imotski). Now he is organizing the army in Herceg-Bosnia, he has repelled a Muslim offensive, and he is slowly approaching the Croatian enclaves in central Bosnia. "If UNPROFOR can not secure the delivery of humanitarian aid to these Croatian enclaves, the HVO will do it by hook or by crook," he said. For a start, he changed the location of the Command Center (and moved it closer to the front lines), instilled optimism among the troops, and took certain important positions on the hills above firm Muslim strongholds. He follows the step-by-step system, with no euphoria or unrealistic expectations. Furthermore, he has put intelligence activities in order, and we thus no longer receive soldiers' reports unsupported by the facts at the front lines.

### The Briefcase and the M-16

Everything seems calm, but in fact fierce battles are being fought. Roso has retained some of his old habits. Every morning he goes to work with a briefcase and a M-16 rifle over his shoulder, without much of an escort. The serious face, bearing the marks of the war and the suffering, with no smile and no redundant talking, short hair, a uniform with not too many insignia, and his soldier's bearing show that Colonel General Ante Roso, at 48, takes his fight to defend Croatian territories in Bosnia-Herzegovina seriously. This is not the first time that he is fighting a war that he must not lose, but after many years of being a legionnaire, he has realized for the first time that his won or lost battles will shape the future of his own people. Not far from the snow-covered central Bosnian mountains is the Kupres plateau, and Roso often glances at it. Kupres has left a truly heavy battle scar on General Roso, one that he is determined to heal—if not on himself, then on his surroundings.

## Krajina Official Discusses Peace Negotiations

*AU0512183193 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[Interview with Djordje Bjegovic, prime minister of the republic of Serbian Krajina, by Krste Bijelic; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Bijelic] Talks about some disputed questions were recently held between representatives of the republic of Serbian Krajina and the Republic of Croatia. Some people made remarks that public at large has not been informed in more detail about the character and scope of these talks, so we asked Mr. Djordje Bjegovic, prime minister of the republic of Serbian Krajina, to provide some explanation.

Mr. Bjegovic, why were the time and venue of the talks with the representatives of the Republic of Croatia not known?

[Bjegovic] It is true that the talks are being held. It is also true that only the time and venue are secret. This is only for practical reasons, just as it is normal everywhere in the world. The talks were never interrupted. The only question is what period of time is needed for certain problems to be solved.

The essence of these negotiations is exclusively a cease-fire agreement. This is also the basic task of the government, to establish peace as soon as possible so that normal life may be led.

The essence of the negotiations is not secret. We know that the negotiations have three stages: the cease-fire, that is, peace, then the stage of economic problems in which we want to attain certain financial standing [bonitet] that we lack today. The third part of the talks are political issues, that is, the Serbian-Croatian relations that are certainly going to be solved in some other time and in some other situation.

Today, we must tell the truths that are known through the parliament, through our assembly in which we have a platform and in this platform the government has its corresponding tasks. The commanders are also included in this entire work, I would say up to the General Staff of the Serbian Army, and in particular the representatives of the communes of Knin, Benkovac, Obrovac. It is certain that, according to the assembly platform, they also must express their opinion as without them, there can be no decision.

[Bijelic] Mr. Bjegovic, has an agreement been reached?

[Bjegovic] No agreement has been reached until today, but it seems to me that the time in which we are going to have some basic positions is coming closer. We must not lose these positions, as our basic task is to use any occasion for realizing peace and we are going to work on that.

[Bijelic] It would be interesting if you could tell us something about the following question, namely the modus vivendi involved. How does the Croatian side approach this problem and how do you do so?

[Bjegovic] Well, the Croatian side's approach is in the way that greater Europe has planned. According to whose scenario this is, is not important at this moment. I think that we must support modus vivendi as regards the separation of forces, so that the international community would guarantee to us this part of separation, something it has failed to do so far. If this is reached, then modus vivendi would certainly be a reality at the first stage.

[Bijelic] Of course, you are not abandoning the assembly platform, which means the right to self-determination.

[Bjegovic] Certainly. We are obligated to realize the last stage, as well, and that is self-determination. Our people will certainly vote as they did at the referendum.

[Bijelic] Thank you.

[Bjegovic] Not at all.

## Martic Stresses Unity of All Serbian Areas

*AU0512213693 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 5 Dec 93*

["Excerpt" from an interview with Milan Martic, candidate for president of the republic of Serbian Krajina, RSK, by Krste Bijelic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Martic] In the first stage, we certainly must strive for independence and sovereignty, therefore to be internationally recognized, and then to systematically turn to the unification with the republic of Srpska and with the Republic of Yugoslavia, that is, with Serbia and Montenegro.

To realize all that, we certainly must build it upon basic foundations. This is, as I told you in the introductory part, that the defense system must be strong, so that we can protect our ethnic territories and our borders at any time, that the legal order can be strong, and that the people can live normally. Then we should turn to the revitalization of the economy, the revitalization of the complete Serbian territory in the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], and finally, to fight for this unification according to the principle of self-determination, something that other people in the world also have. I tell you, I am convinced that this will take place, because these pressures in the world that are exerted against us are now easing up, particularly by those countries that are endangered by this German aggression with its [German] mark. French, English, and U.S. interests that completely certainly are not the same as German interests are slowly turning apart, although it apparently appears that their interests in the Balkans are the same. We know very well that they are not and it is a matter of days when

these interests are going to be clashing and dividing more and more. There lies a great chance for us to realize our aim.

[Bijelic] Of course, the relations between Krajina and Serbia is an inevitable question. What is it that Serbia means for Krajina today, and what is it going to mean in the future? In your opinion, is there a possibility, as some people claim, for Serbia to sell Krajina?

[Martic] [laughs] Well, you see, Serbia is our mother state and we here know that. Without Serbia, it would be very difficult. Every citizen here in the republic of Serbian Krajina is watching what is happening in Serbia and, of course, is expecting very much from Serbia.

Serbia and its leadership have never left Krajina in the lurch despite all those attacks. I am sure about one thing and that is that President Milosevic is treating Kosovo, Sumadija, and Krajina in the same way. I am absolutely sure about that and I know that he would never sell this people's interests. The same applies to the Serbian Republic and Dr. Karadzic. The republic of Serbian Krajina must have very good relations with the republic of Srpska, the Republic of Serbia, that is, Yugoslavia. I am one of the advocates of this and am convinced that we are going to completely fulfill this dream of ours in which we wish so much finally to be one state.

## Martic Interviewed

*AU0612133693 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 2120 GMT 5 Dec 93*

[Interview with Milan Martic, interior minister and presidential candidate of the republic of Serbian Krajina, by Krste Bijelic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Bijelic] Good evening, esteemed viewers. Many reasons could be found for this evening's program "Reason for a Chat," but one is quite enough. Our and your guest, Milan Martic, interior minister of the republic of Serbian Krajina, one of the instigators of the organized struggle of the Serbian people in the Krajina for the freedom and right to decide on their fate for themselves, the man whom many call, without exaggeration, the living Krajina legend, has decided to run for Krajina president.

Mr. Martic, welcome to our program.

[Martic] Thank you.

[Bijelic] As a direct witness of these events and views, I got the impression that your decision to run has gladdened your fellow fighters and fellow thinkers, to put it that way, but it has also caused a lot of concern among your political opponents. Both groups remember your statements that power is of no interest to you. What has made you change your position?

[Martic] It is a fact that I have said many times that I am not interested in power, and I will repeat that now. Why have I decided to run? Because many fellow combatants, workers, that is, the class of people I belong to, asked me to run as the candidate to whom they gave their confidence. I understood that as a responsibility, something I could not avoid. I say again: I am not interested in power, but the task that these people imposed on me is something I could not refuse. The reason is as follows: The confusion in the political leadership of Krajina. It is known that the movement, I say movement and not party, so the movement of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] ruled here once, led by the academician Raskovic, who did a great job in awakening the Serb consciousness in this region that we have to defend ourselves as Serbs and that we have the right to do so as our struggle is just. Unfortunately, the SDS splintered into some five or six factions after his death, and the people were confused as to which SDS was the SDS. Some say they are the authentic party, some say they are the original party, and who knows what else. The people simply do not know what party that is.

As far as I personally am concerned, I have been extra-party from the start even though I have participated in the SDS movement, as did every other citizen in the region. However, the fragmentation of the party has caused confusion, while the other parties have not consolidated to that extent, and the people have some dilemmas as to which party is correct and which is not. As for me, I have remained extra-party, and I represent the people. That is why I accepted to run as the representative of the people, and not as a party representative. I respect the parties to the extent to which they contribute to our common aim, to the creation of the state of the republic of Serbian Krajina. That is how I evaluate the parties and the individuals, and that is how I will continue to evaluate them.

[Bijelic] If I understood you correctly, you in fact think that this process that started some three and a half or four years ago should be completed.

[Martic] Yes, no one, neither I or anyone else, has the right to stop the process that started three and a half years ago. Because of the victims that fell for our idea that the republic of Serbian Krajina should be a state, and that we will never again live in Croatia, no one has the right to give up. We have to go all the way and fight like all the other nations in the world for the right to self-determination, and for these people finally to get a state of their own as they deserve.

[Bijelic] Now that we are reminiscing, which dates, which events in this three and a half year struggle would you particularly highlight from today's perspective, from today's position?

[Martic] There are a number of such events which are extremely significant. I would highlight the following: a very important event took place on 27 February 1989, when Croatia supported the Stari Trg mine, [miners' strike in Stari Trg mine in Kosovo], that is, the miners who were about to secede from Serbia, and when the

people in this region gave their support to Serbia. This is an extremely important event. This was followed by the founding of the Serbian Democratic Party on 17 February 1990, headed by academician Raskovic, which was followed by events such as the exclusion of the Serbs from the Croatian Constitution. They were not treated as a constituent people, but as an ethnic minority—this was in May 1990. Then came the time when the militia organized, so to speak, a real putsch in the state of Croatia, against Tudjman, and then, on 3 July 1990, we submitted the well-known petition confirming that we would be on the side of the Serbian people. Although Croatia paid us well, we were not interested in this; the most important thing for us was to remain humans, to remain with our people, rather than being manipulated against our own people.

[Bijelic] And the people....

[Martic, interrupting] And the people....

[Bijelic, interrupting] Which is a unique case....

[Martic] Which is a unique case; on 5 July, after two days, Boljkovac, the current Croatian minister, came to Knin to arrest the four of us, and to dissolve the rest of the militia, and to bring his own policemen. Then the people resolutely took our side, and that is something that cannot be forgotten; this is a unique case in history, when the people defended the militia, and it happened here in Knin. Another extremely significant event took place on 17 August, when we perpetrated an allegedly fictitious forced entry into the militia headquarters, took the arms, and set up the barricades. At the time, Croatia called it a Log Revolution [Balvan revolucija]. However, a state of war was proclaimed on that day, and for the first time, the world heard of Knin and the Knin Krajina. A number of extremely important events followed after this. One is literally crushed by all this, and you cannot tell which event is more important than the war conditions [sentence as heard]. Up until 1 April, 31 March that is, the situation was constantly wavering between "go" and "stop" as regards Croatia, our barricades, intercepting, disarming the Croatian police force, and then arming them again. On 31 March a more serious conflict took place in Plitvice, followed by the conflict in Borovo Selo on 2 May, and then the war spread and a general state of war developed in the entire republic of Serbian Krajina.

At the time the army [Yugoslav People's Army] was in some kind of buffer zone, a part of the officers were—so to speak—like a drugged boxer, they were confused; this applies exclusively to Serbian officers, while the other officers, Croats and others, were obviously involved in preparing this. They clearly opted for their side and went over to the Croatian side, although all the characteristics of this state resembled a fascist regime, an Ustasha regime from the Independent State of Croatia [Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatska] dating back to World War II. These Croatian officers, who had been brought up in the spirit of brotherhood and unity, it did not mean anything to them, they easily adapted to their regime, which a large part of the Croatian people also accepted.

Among other significant events, I would highlight the fact that toward the end of 1991 and the beginning of 1992, the arrival of the peace forces into these areas was adopted [sentence as heard]. At the time, the militia was in a position to be a stable factor of both the defense and the legal order. Following this, up until 22 January 1993, it carried out these duties, but then at the beginning of December, the army again took matters into its hands and took over the defense part, while the militia went on carrying out its part of the duties.

I could also stress that in 1992 we had to go from here to open the corridor on 11 June, and that together with our brothers in the republic of Srpska we managed to do that, to open that corridor, which is our life line. Also in November and December we went to protect the corridor again, to prevent it from being closed near Brcko, and we were successful. These are very important events, because—had Croatia then managed to achieve its plan and had the Muslims and the Croats linked up and closed the corridor—then their conflict might not have come about. I am not the kind of man that would want them to have a conflict, but that was a vital issue for us, and we could not allow anyone, including them, to close that corridor.

[Bijelic] To put you in a ghetto.

[Martic] Yes.

[Bijelic] Everything we have spoken about so far, all these dates and events, all that belongs to what could be called the birth of Krajina, the birth of a state. Krajina was indeed created, it functions as a state, whether people like it or not.

[Bijelic] What, according to you, should be done for this state to survive in spite of the unfavorable international circumstances, and—I would say—the almost sick wish of Croatia's to drag Krajina back into its former, Titoist borders?

[Martic] You see, I have forgotten to mention one very important date among all the events. That is 19 December 1991, when we passed our first constitution, which definitely marked that most important of acts for a state, that we have everything that a state needs. We already have a state, we have the territory, we have the people, we have the authorities, all we need is the fourth segment, international recognition. I am convinced that we will achieve that, too, particularly by a more aggressive international policy, meaning, diplomacy. That world that speaks of democracy has to realize that we, like all the other nations, have the right to decide with whom and how we will live. And how we will live, none of us doubts at all that all of us Serbs want to live in one state, and I see no reason why—if the Croats got their national state, and the Slovenes got theirs, as did the Macedonians and the Muslims—I do not see why the Serbs should be denied that right.

In order to achieve that we have to have a strong defense, a strong legal organization, that is a functioning militia and a judiciary system, and of course, we have to move the economy, bring about the revitalization of the economy, and the entire region of the republic of Serbian Krajina.

[Bijelic] In that context, from this perspective, how do you see the Vance plan and the behavior of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] on the ground, in view of the tragic events from the Miljevac Plateau, Islam Grcki, and Divoselo?

[Martic] You see, the Vance plan had its good and bad sides. It would not be fair to talk exclusively of just one of them. As for us and how we used this period of relative peace, that is another matter. So we had a period to organize the state better in many spheres. We achieved some things and others we did not. The Vance plan, as I have just said, had its good and bad sides. As for UNPROFOR, it of course came in a mission of peace here, but we knew from the start what the balance of power in the world is, what the attitude of foreign political forces toward us is. We knew that the Security Council is practically in the service of the United States and the other foreign powers, and that the Security Council as such an institution, and UNPROFOR which is within all that, would work according to the dictate of the Security Council, that is, the dictate of the foreign powers.

We might have been a bit naive about all that as we believed that UNPROFOR would defend us, that UNPROFOR is the force that would protect us. We paid the price for that on 22 January. I am one of those who never really trusted UNPROFOR much. It is well-known that, despite all the pressure exerted by UNPROFOR, by the top level representatives, I have never allowed the weapons I believe are rightfully ours to be stored away in a warehouse. I knew that this would be lethal. Had we returned the arms, we would have most likely suffered a horrible fate. We would have been handed over to Croatia in an elegant way. I have not allowed that, as I believe that—if we have the status of a regional police force—we should have the right to the caliber of arms as do all the other police forces in the world. That is (?14.5) mm. They wanted to persuade us that we only had the right to short barrels, that is, pistols, to which I have never agreed. I have kept our arms all this time. That might have been crucial when Croatia attacked us on 22 January.

With the arms that we had then we managed to hold Croatia back from further attacks until we consolidated and took the heavy weapons that had been locked up by UNPROFOR. As for UNPROFOR, it depends on the country that they come from, as there are countries that are impartial—I would not say inclined toward us—countries that have an objective view of our suffering, that know why the war started. There are also some countries that have accepted the dictate of the Security Council, that is, the countries that they come from. They represent the countries they come from, and behave very badly toward us. Here I have to stress the very bad behavior of the French battalion on 22 January. We were surprised by it, too, as it is known that we were allies in the World War II.

[Bijelic] And in the World War I, too.

[Martic] And in the World War I, and that is why we could not understand at all that this French battalion should openly back the Croatian side even to the extent of allowing them to use UNPROFOR vehicles to slip in behind us. The French battalion treated us as the enemy, and we were surprised. However, we have learned our lesson from that, and that is that we know what we want and we trust everyone to the degree that suits us, and the same applies to the French battalion and all the others. It is up to us to be correct toward everyone, but not to allow anyone to deceive us again.

[Bijelic] I have recently heard one of Tudjman's many statements that he will be having coffee in Knin at the New Year, that he will be there for the opening of the [Belgrade-Zagreb] highway, that he would be in Vukovar, and so on, but let us not talk about Tudjman. What is your general view regarding Krajina's position toward Croatia?

[Martic] Briefly, as far as Tudjman is concerned, I think that he must appear ridiculous even to himself with his statements. The same goes for his commanders who keep promising that they will enter Knin in an hour, and whatnot. They do not believe these things themselves, and nor do their people. It is clear that there is just one reality, and that is that Croatia and the republic of Serbian Krajina cannot be one state again. That must be clear to everyone, including all those staunch supporters of democracy who back Croatia. That kind of life is impossible. We can only live as two neighboring countries, and then we can discuss all the bilateral relations as neighboring countries. We Serbs are in favor of that, and the republic of Serbian Krajina is in favor of having correct relations with everyone. However, life in a common state, where one nation would be subordinated, I think is absurd and nobody would allow that. I think that if a referendum were held in Croatia about whether they wanted to live with us, the result would be the same. They do not want to live with us. That democratic world should hold a referendum like that and it will see the results. With us it is clear: There can be no more coexistence with the Croats. We can only live as neighboring states.

[Bijelic] Of course, the relations between Krajina and Serbia is an inevitable question. What is it that Serbia means for Krajina today, and what is it going to mean in the future? In your opinion, is there a possibility, as some people claim, for Serbia to sell Krajina?

[Martic] [laughs] Well, you see, Serbia is our mother state and we here know that. Without Serbia, it would be very difficult. Every citizen here in the republic of

Serbian Krajina is watching what is happening in Serbia and, of course, is expecting very much from Serbia.

Serbia and its leadership have never left Krajina in the lurch despite all those attacks. I am sure about one thing and that is that President Milosevic treats Kosovo, Sumadija, and Krajina in the same way. I am absolutely sure about that and I know that he would never sell this people's interests. The same applies to the republic of Srpska and Dr. Karadzic [republic of Srpska president]. The republic of Serbian Krajina must have very good relations with the republic of Srpska, the Republic of Serbia, that is, Yugoslavia. I am one of the advocates of this and am convinced that we are going to fulfill this dream of ours, which is such a great wish finally to be one state.

[Bijelic] What about the international factors? What do you think should be done to appease, to put it that way, the international factors so that this negative attitude toward Krajina should cease, particularly by the European powers and the United States? Put simply, can they be appeased?

[Martic] As for the international factors, it is absolutely clear that the foreign powers dictate the situation and that their interests are those promoted. The weigh their achievements against these interests. Germany, for example, has achieved a lot by having access to the Adriatic Sea, by storing nuclear waste in the region of western Slavonia from where the Serbs have been expelled, and the other things they are interested in, such as transit along the highway, traffic on the Danube, and they can achieve that in other ways, and not only with the Croats, but with us, too. That German interest, which has been fulfilled to a good degree, is slowly turning to other interests as to how they can be achieved differently. [sentence as heard]

However, we first have to respect ourselves, and the respect of others will depend on how strong we are within, how organized we are. The time will come, I am convinced, when they will all recognize the republic of Serbian Krajina. I am completely sure of that, and I would like to pass my certainty to others.

[Bijelic] Now that you mention that it depends mostly on you, I also agree. Besides that is the debt of the Krajina people to Serbia, to the Serb republic, but particularly to Serbia. You asked on one occasion why Serbia had suffered all this for three years just for it to fail now.

[Martic] It is true. You see, if Serbia wanted to abandon us in the past, it could have done so elegantly, it could have seceded like the other republics, as the world recognized nothing but the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] borders. It recognized nothing communist but that. Serbia could have done the same. It could have said simply: I am off! These are our borders, and it would have passed without the sanctions and all these problems. Of course, it would have had certain problems, as then Kosovo and Vojvodina would have been next. The world would not have given up, but Serbia would have had an easier time if it had looked after its own interests, than having both Krajina and the Serb republic on its back. Serbia has shown here that it is our mother state, which does not leave its children in the lurch. They are in a very difficult situation but it is not insoluble, as it is very fortunate that Serbia, and our parts, has the potential for survival. We have surplus food, energy, everything needed for survival, things that many countries in the world do not have. And we will make it.

[Bijelic] Let us go back to the Krajina. How do you see it in the future, in the period until the final unification of the Serbian lands, which is our basic and mutual goal? On what principles should this state function, and what should be given special attention?

[Martic] In the first stage, we certainly must strive for independence and sovereignty, therefore to be internationally recognized, and then to systematically turn to the unification with the republic of Srpska and with the Republic of Yugoslavia, that is, with Serbia and Montenegro.

In order to realize all that, we certainly must build it upon basic foundations. This is, as I told you in the introductory part, that the defense system must be strong, so that we can protect our ethnic territories and our borders at any time, that the legal order can be strong, and that the people can live normally. Then we should turn to the revitalization of the economy, the revitalization of the complete Serbian territory in the republic of Serbian Krajina, and finally, to fight for this unification according to the principle of self-determination, something that other people in the world also have. I tell you, I am convinced that this will take place, because these pressures in the world that are exerted against us are now easing up, particularly by those countries that are endangered by this German aggression with its [German] mark. French, English, and U.S. interests that completely certainly are not the same as German interests are slowly turning apart, although it apparently appears that their interests in the Balkans are the same. We know very well that they are not and it is a matter of days when these interests are going to be clashing and dividing more and more. There lies a great chance for us to realize our aim.

[Bijelic] It could be said that the Krajina is waging two parallel battles: one on the front, or fronts, and one internally, with itself? As regards the development of democracy—and the elections ahead of you show that these people have a high democratic awareness, because they accept elections even under these conditions [pauses], the economy, of which you spoke, is also important; all this is included in your electoral platform. However, which institutions should now be established? As regards the linking of the Serbian lands, I have heard that an agreement on sharing an information base has already been made; I have also heard that a similar agreement is being prepared for monetary transactions. Are there any more new things?

[Martic] Well, yes. We have set up an entire consortium in the economic system, in traffic, and market, therefore more or less in all spheres, and I hope that this consortium—large companies from Serbia, Montenegro, the Serbian republic, the republic of Serbian Krajina are joining it—will definitely grow into a single system, and that this will happen very soon. Of course, we have to fight for honest relations in the state. It is practically inconceivable that in the Krajina, on one hand we now have extremely wealthy individuals and on the other, we have people who are living on the poverty line. I am particularly emotionally tied to the people who have come out of this war injured and invalids, and with the families of those killed in action.

I will do my utmost—if, of course, I am elected—to secure an appropriate status for this part of the population—the soldiers killed in action, their families, and the wounded. It is a disgrace to allow these people to be on welfare; they must understand that they have given their highest ideals for the homeland, and that the homeland is obliged to take care of them. We have to fight for this, because there is no need for this to be the way it is at the moment. Moreover, I will strive for an appropriate representation of the social status of the people, the workers [sentence as heard]. If this is a war situation, we must try to share this burden as equally as possible; we cannot have ultra-rich and ultra-poor individuals; there is no reason for that.

[Bijelic] When we discuss the Krajina's development, therefore, this other front, surely there can be no development without people, without cadres? You have founded a university here in the Krajina, which is also perhaps a unique example in the world of such an institution being set up in time of war. However, several years will go by before these people graduate. Many Krajina people left this region and moved to Belgrade, some with a valid reason and others without any reason. How do you see this?

[Martic] Well, what can I say? A lot of Krajina citizens have left recently, during this war, but a lot of them left earlier because of conditions here in the Krajina. It is common knowledge that this emigration policy was a deliberate one. Our cleverest people would move to Serbia, because the conditions here were not right. However, these war events have proven that the people who are tied to this Krajina [words indistinct]. We have two categories of people: people who have moved away from these areas and who, in a certain way, are not involved in this, and yet have never cut their ties, and those who left in the course of the war and earlier [sentence as heard]. I can list all these individuals—I have to apologize in advance for leaving some of them out, and I am sure I will leave many of them out—but I have to highlight many of our academicians who are currently in Serbia, who are becoming increasingly involved with the establishment of our university. Dr. Mihajlo Markovic, Dr. Petar Skundric, and many others who are now joining us; Milan Miljevic, [words indistinct] who are creating this university, Dr. Rade Tanjga; these people left earlier and are now joining in helping the Krajina, and are establishing an institution such as a university [sentence as heard].

There is another category of people who have left the Krajina, but who care for it; Borisav Mikelic, for example, or Miki Marjanovic, Dr. Komazec; there are many of them. There are also those who do not care for the Krajina, but I would not mention them here, they should think of this themselves. I think that they should take the people that I have listed as an example, and that they too should involve themselves in helping their republic of Serbian Krajina in the appropriate way.

[Bijelic] And finally, Mr. Martic, let us try to summarize what we have just been talking about into one of your visions. If you are elected president of the republic of Serbian Krajina, what will you particularly concentrate on, and what motive, what desire will be your driving force?

[Martic] You see, I do not possess a magic wand, and it would be absurd to expect that I can change everything overnight. However, I know myself well. I will do my utmost to primarily fight for honest relations in the state, to establish the defense system in an appropriate way, to make the legal order what people want it to be, to revitalize the economy, to fight for the status of the entire population in the republic of Serbian Krajina, and what is most important, to fight with all I have for accelerating this process of unification into a single Serbian state, so that we can definitely be one single state, with one president, one capital city; that would be our victory.

[Bijelic] I hope all of us will succeed in this.

[Martic] Thank you

## Serbian Shelling Causes Damage in Biograd

*LD0512202993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 5 Dec 93*

[Excerpt] At around 1800 this evening the Serb terrorists attacked Biograd, firing several shells on the town suburbs. They launched another attack 20 minutes later. According to available reports there were no casualties, but considerable damage was caused in Biograd. [passage omitted]

## President Tudjman Receives U.S. Senator

*LD0412105193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[Text] Republic of Croatia President Franjo Tudjman received last night U.S. Senator Paul Wellstone accompanied by the U.S. ambassador in the Republic of Croatia, Peter Galbraith. As the president's office has announced, they discussed the results of the latest round of the Geneva peace conference on the former Yugoslavia and the recent CSCE conference in Rome. They also talked about the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina,

especially about humanitarian aid to threatened civilians in the country. In connection with that, Senator Wellstone expressed the U.S. public's fear for the fate of the population in war-stricken areas because of the coming winter and immeasurable possible consequences.

## Radicals Object to 'Bias' in Krajina Media

*AU0612101093 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Nov 93 p 12*

[Report by Milan Cetnik: "The Radicals Strike Back"]

[Text] Knin, 25 November—There are fewer than 20 days to the elections in the republic of Serbian Krajina and the pre-election atmosphere is becoming increasingly heated.

"The manifesto aims of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS] for the Krajina are to stop the quarrels and the thefts, to halt territorial dissipation and the sale of Krajina land, and neutralize the divisions among the people and political parties. Our intentions are the creation of a law-governed state, a final separation from Croatia, general peace, and the departure of UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] from Krajina. The Radicals' election slogan is, 'We are coming.'" This was announced at a news conference in Knin by Rade Leskovac, president of the SRS for the Serbian Krajina.

The conference was attended by Milorad Martic, mayor of Novi Sad and member of the Main Committee of the SRS for Serbia, Nikola Poplasen, head of the Radicals in the republic of Srpska, Goran Maric, head of the campaign headquarters of the SRS for the Krajina, the former Sarajevo show business personality known as Malko Muharem, and others.

### For a Campaign of Fair Play

According to Leskovac, the Radicals are already prepared for the election race in the Krajina. The party has nominated its members for all 84 places in the Krajina parliament, fielded candidates for the communal assemblies, and nominated Rade Leskovac for the presidential election. The leader of the Krajina Radicals expressed a fear about the bias and usurpation of the Krajina media, stressing in particular the Beli Manastir television station, on which the Radicals are not allowed to appear at all. He therefore appealed to the information ministry to schedule a meeting for all the political parties so that an agreement on pre-election media fair play could be reached. Leskovac claimed that the Beli Manastir television station has turned into a private station for Goran Hadzic and his people.

Responding to a question about the continued fate of the quarrel between the SRS and Hadzic, Leskovac said that evidence had been submitted to the republican public prosecutor on the crimes of Serbia Krajina's president, but that everything had stopped there.

"Goran Hadzic has the support of the regime in Serbia, which wants to keep him in power at all costs. After the elections the SRS will call for Goran Hadzic to be brought to justice," Leskovac said.

"What do you think of the public condemnation of Vojislav Seselj by four of the most senior political, military, and police officials in the republic of Serbia Krajina?"

"I think that these people must submit their irrevocable resignations in the interest of themselves and the people of the Krajina," Leskovac said.

### A New Party

Several days ago the Krajina Socialist Party was registered in the republic of Serbia Krajina, led by the prime minister and several ministers. Asked to comment on this, Leskovac said:

"Yes, this is true, the Serbian Party of Socialists was set up. This name was chosen so that this party's abbreviations would be identical to those of the Socialist Party of Serbia. I do not believe that the appearance of this political grouping will find fertile ground in the Krajina and I think that this a question of a cuckoo in the nest for Krajina voters."

News conferences were also held today by officials of the Serbian National Renewal [SNO]. Dragoljub Cupkovic, head of this party's communal committee, announced that the Krajina justice ministry is preventing the SNO from standing at the elections in the Krajina. Proceeding from the strategic-party stance on the unity of all Serbian lands, the SNO does not think that it is essential for this party to be specially registered as the SNO for the Krajina. However, Cupkovic said, the party's efforts nevertheless to adhere to the election procedure are being undermined because, in his opinion, the justice ministry is insisting too much on formalities, that is to say, on the submission of great amounts of documentation when there is no time to assemble it.

Among other things, the justice ministry is asking for the party's statute to be submitted for it to be registered, but SNO officials are insisting that their statute is the same for the whole Serbian state area. If they manage to register, the SNO will field candidates for republican deputies in Knin and Vukovar and candidates for communal representatives. Otherwise, the party will give its votes to those parties and individuals whose manifestos are close to the SNO. If it is not registered, the SNO will file a case with the Serbian Krajina constitutional court.

The following have so far announced their candidacies for the presidential elections: Ranko Bakic, Rade Leskovac, Milan Babic, Mile Paspalj, Jovan Opacic, and Milan Martic, which caused some surprise among the Knin public.

## Peterle Sends Letter to Clinton on Bosnia

*LD0312174993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1726 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Ljubljana, Dec 3 (TANJUG)—It seems that Slovenia is beginning to ease its rigid stands towards the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia judging by the fact that it has stopped insisting on the tightening of the U.N. sanctions against this country. In a letter to U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, which calls for "U.S. help in the search for a solution to the Bosnian crisis," Slovenian Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle says that "the aims for the introduction of the sanctions against Yugoslavia have so far not been realized," but does not explicitely urge their continuation or tightening.

Another sign that Slovenia is relaxing its traditionally hardcore stand towards Yugoslavia is Ljubljana's diplomatic maneuvring as the European Union (E.U.) has clearly changed its policy on the Yugoslav crisis and the civil war in the ex-Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In an action plan for the settlement of the Bosnian crisis, E.U. recently mentioned that the sanctions against Yugoslavia could be suspended if the Bosnian Serbs make certain territorial concessions to the Muslims.

In Ljubljana it is said that the Slovenian diplomacy has recently been forced to change its attitude towards Yugoslavia also owing to the deepening economic crisis in Slovenia caused by the blockade of Serbia and Montenegro, previously the major markets for its goods before the disintegration of the former Yugoslav federation. The strict U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia, imposed in late May last year, are affecting both the Yugoslav population and the economies of its neighbours who are suffering damage amounting to billions of dollars. Although the sanctions were introduced due to charges, especially those by the United States, that Yugoslavia is involved in the Bosnian war, the blockade was not lifted even after the international community admitted that in Bosnia in question is a civil war rather than an aggression. However, Ljubljana's conciliatory overtures to Belgrade cannot yet be interpreted as Slovenia's readiness to finally accept the reality in the territory of former Yugoslavia.

## WEU Status Seen as 'First Important Step'

*AU0512172493 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[Text] After returning from the meeting of the Western European Union [WEU] in Paris, Borut Pahor, head of the Slovene delegation, said that by being given the status of observer in the WEU, Slovenia has finally broken the link that was chaining it to the Balkans and started coming closer to central European countries. Being given the right to participate in the debate, albeit without the right to vote, means for Slovenia the first important step in joining the European security structure, Borut Pahor pointed out.

## Drnovsek, Klaus Sign Free Trade Agreement

*AU0412195693 Prague CTK in English 1639 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[Text] Ljubljana, Dec 4 (CTK)—An agreement on the free trade zone between the Czech Republic and Slovenia was signed today by Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus and Slovenian Premier Janez Drnovsek.

Today's agreement goes farther than similar documents signed earlier between the Czech Republic and other Visegrad Group countries (Hungary, Poland and Slovakia), Klaus said after the signing.

Slovenia prefers concrete agreements, which is why it believes the new agreement with the Czech Republic to be more important than Visegrad Group membership, Drnovsek said, adding that Slovakia also was also interested in joining the free trade zone without delay. Progress on Hungary's side is slower, he said, and as for Poland, there is a lull in negotiations on the issue pending the creation of a new Polish government.

The new free trade zone, effective from January 1, 1994, will cover about 83 per cent of trade between the Czech Republic and Slovenia, with Slovakia and other Visegrad countries expected to join later on.

Tariffs on goods not named in the document will be cut by half in 1994, then again in 1995, and from 1996 all goods will be tariff-free. Tariff cuts on Czech cars will be spread over a longer period, from 1994 to 1999, while tariff on farm produce will be cut by half in 1994, with five more 10-per cent cuts following to eliminate tariffs completely.

The Czech Republic sold 86 million usd worth of goods to Slovenia during the first ten months of 1993, and bought Slovenian goods valued at 37 million USD over the same period.

Slovenia imports Czech cars, tractors, steel, malt and chemicals, including semi-finished products. The Czech Republic buys Slovenian refrigerators and freezers, washing machines, iceboxes, cosmetics, chemicals, textiles and canned fish.

## Federal

### Kontic on Possible Suspension of Sanctions

*AU0512164493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Dec 93*

[Text] When returning from Bulgaria to Belgrade, FRY Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, together with a group of federal and republican ministers, visited Nis today and had talks with the representatives of the town and the Nis District about current economic and political problems. Here is a report by Dragan Dimitrijevic:

[Begin recording] [Dimitrijevic] The lengthy and very specific talks mostly concerned the catastrophic consequences of the unjust sanctions that, as was stated, represent real international terror. The worst consequences are suffered by the largest Nis collectives, but also by the town's health service that services about 2.5 million citizens of the wider region of this part of Serbia.

FRY Prime Minister Radoje Kontic particularly pointed to the sanctions which, as he put it, have been introduced in order to bring our economic and social situation to such a level so that individual members of the European and world community could reach their own aims which are not in conformity with what we, the FRY, have as our aim.

How much the sanctions have affected our economy and society can best be seen in the example of the social product which was about $25 billion in the year before the blockade was imposed and will probably not be able to exceed $10 billion this year. All this has also led to the impoverishment of the entire population, so that the income of $250 has already fallen to about $25 per worker [as heard].

Although we have met all the demands for the sanctions to be lifted, the international community—although there is a certain change in attitude—is still not making respective moves. Instead of the lifting of sanctions, one is now speaking about suspending them with the beginning of the peace process and lifting may be talked about only later.

[Kontic] I have to say immediately that this is hardly acceptable for us, this represents a rope around the neck for us. It is in fact, well, a great risk to accept such an option as it would mean or may mean in fact linking the lifting of the sanctions not only to Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also to the Republic of Serbian Krajina or later to Kosovo or to some third question. Therefore, we, as the federal government or the FRY will insist that the sanctions must be suspended earlier and when the peace process begins to be implemented, the sanctions must be lifted, at least the sanctions imposed by Resolution 820.

[Dimitrijevic] FRY Prime Minister Radoje Kontic also touched upon the galloping inflation and upon his visit to Bulgaria which was in fact devoted to sanctions and their alleviating or lifting. [end recording] afternoon. [end recording]

## Serbia

### Opposition Parties To Run Separately

*LD0312225993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2209 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Dec (TANJUG)—Representatives of democratic parties have stated with regret that, due to a lack of time and technical difficulties, they failed to put forward a joint electoral list. This has been announced in the form of a statement.

However, participants in the talks pledged to immediately start preparations for a joint platform and mutual cooperation.

At the meetings held between 27 November and 2 December—organized by students of Serbia—representatives of the democratic opposition agreed that the unity of democratic opposition forces in Serbia is an essential precondition for changing the system, for the democratization of political relations, and for overcoming the economic crisis, the statement reads.

In keeping with the statement, an agreement was reached to continue with the talks and to try and achieve maximum cooperation during the election campaign, especially regarding control of the electorial procedure, the statement goes on.

The statement was signed on behalf of the Depos [Democratic Movement of Serbia] by General Secretary Dusan Mihajlovic, on behalf of the Democratic Party by President Dragoljub Micunovic, on behalf of the Serbian Peasants' Party by Dusan Prvulovic, member of the main committee, and on behalf of the Social Democratic Party of Center by President Cedomir Mirkovic.

### Albanian Parties To Run in Elections

*AU0512155193 Tirana ATA in English 1120 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[Text] Prishtina, December 4 (ATA)—Two Albanian political parties in Presheve, Bujanovc, and Medvegje, the Party for Democratic Action and the Albanian Democratic Party, have decided to form a coalition to contest the Serbian parliamentary elections by presenting a joint slate of Republican candidates. The group's platform for the December 19 elections calls for the political and territory autonomy for the Albanians of Presheve, Bujanovc, and Medvegje. These two parties stress in their platform that their participation in the elections does not in any way detract from the results of the referendum for political and territorial autonomy of this area or the goal of the Albanian people for autonomy which is the only acceptable status in the territory of Presheve, Bujanovc, and Medvegje.

Presheve, Bujanovc and Medvegje are three zones mainly inhabited by ethnic Albanians which are administratively separated from Kosova and have been attached to southern Serbia since the time when Kosova was made an autonomous province of the former Yugoslavia.

### Russian Embassy: No Promises Made to Opposition

*LD0312174193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1503 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Dec (TANJUG)—No political party in Serbia has received any promises from Russia to the effect that, in the event of its victory in the forthcoming elections, gas deliveries [from Russia] with the consent of the sanctions committee will automatically be provided.

Georgiy Firsov, head of the culture and press department of the Russian Embassy in Belgrade, said at a news conference in Belgrade that the promise of Depos's [Democratic Movement of Serbia] leader Vuk Draskovic that "Russian gas will be promptly delivered" if Depos wins the elections is unfounded.

In reply to a journalist's question he said Russia's official stand is that an election campaign is the internal affair of each country, which means that Russia could not have given—and it has not done so—any such promise.

According to the Russian diplomat the main reason for the sanctions committee's refusal to agree to Russia's offer of gas deliveries to Yugoslavia was that the Yugoslav side rejected international control over the use of the [imported] gas for humanitarian purpose.

Yugoslavia told the committee that it "is itself capable of carrying out the control" of the use of the Russian gas.

### Royalist Party Sends Letter to Clinton

*AU0412204893 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[Text] The Serbian Royalist Movement held its promotion electoral meeting in front of the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade. Party Chairman Leader [vojvoda] Sinisa Vucinic sent an open letter to U.S. President Bill Clinton and the American people from this meeting because of the unjustly introduced sanctions.

[Begin Vucinic recording] Respected Mr. President—if we can at all call you respected—500 days have passed since the sanctions—unprecedented in the world—were introduced to the Serbian people, mostly thanks to your country. Alleged reasons for introducing the sanctions have long become meaningless, but the United Nations, under your patronage, is still inventing new reasons and conditions to maintain the sanctions.

Everyone knows that you and your world servants expect to use sanctions to affect Serbian authorities and the official Yugoslav policy. However, instead of the authorities, these sanctions are, unfortunately, tragically affecting the Serbian people and 1 million refugees in Serbia.

Mr. President, let us not go into assessing the political effects that sanctions can have, as we can all see the tragedy of an entire people caused by them.

The Serbian Royalist Movement is a rightist, nationalist party whose political program has as its first task to establish monarchy in Serbia. Therefore, Mr. President, one cannot reproach us for protecting this regime or say that the Yugoslav policy suits us. Therefore, Mr. Clinton, we have the full right to tell you that your efforts to maintain the sanctions are contrary to your aims. We must remind you that the American and Serbian people are historically connected, and we are certain that the majority of American people do not know your real political intentions as well as the consequences to your people.

Therefore, we, the Serbian monarchists whose fathers were rescuing your pilots in World War II, are telling you that you have made the Serbian people suffer, but you and your world servants will never live to see us lose our honor and face. We are sure that the Serbian people will be compensated for all this, so we suggest to you to think once again and publicly say what it is that you, in fact, want of the Serbian people. The Serbian people will never forgive you for this injustice. [end recording]

### Milosevic's Wife Calls Nationalism 'Primitive'

*AU0512184093 Hamburg DIE WOCHE in German 2 Dec 93 p 19*

[Interview with Mirjana Markovic-Milosevic, wife of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, by Richard Schneider; place and date not given: "We Are All Guilty"]

[Text] [Schneider] Had you been asked three years ago what your nationality was, what would you have answered?

[Markovic] I am Serbian. At the same time I am Yugoslav and European.

[Schneider] And today?

[Markovic] Today I would say the same—more than ever.

[Schneider] Even in public?

[Markovic] I am not afraid of it. I am writing about this issue almost every day in Serbian newspapers.

[Schneider] Do you not have problems with the Serbian nationalists?

[Markovic] I have the impression that the younger generation, my students and my colleagues, do not take that negatively, even though we are now living in a

nationalist euphoria. I think that many people are thinking the same but do not have the courage to say it.

[Schneider] Where does Serbian nationalism come from?

[Markovic] Nationalism is a 'primitive' and negative phenomenon, which is dangerous for any nation that becomes a slave to it. The greatest danger for a people is its own nationalism, not that of others; a nationalism which is currently being pursued in Serbia by Vojislav Seselj, the leader of the Radical Party. He is creating a distance between the Serbs and other people and peoples. He is distorting their awareness and making them believe that they can live alone.

[Schneider] When Seselj was still a political partner of your husband one could not hear such explicit words from you. Why not?

[Markovic] I have been attacking nationalism since I started to write. I admit that I started to personify it with Seselj only a few months ago. He hates left-wing communists. For fascists the communists have always been the greatest enemy. Still, why did he attack me personally in parliament in Belgrade? After all, I am not a symbolic figure for my party. Maybe because he is not only a fascist but also a chauvinist. That is easy because I am a short, delicate woman. It would be more courageous to fight against Muslim extremists at the front in Bosnia.

[Schneider] You and your husband, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, often have antagonistic political views. Do you argue about them at home?

[Markovic] We are constantly talking about politics, which is what we did even 20 years ago. However, there are no arguments but only differences of opinion, which is what we have always had.

[Schneider] In Serbia people like us from the West are regarded as enemies. What do you feel if such a person sits opposite you?

[Markovic] The same that I feel for a Serb from Kragujevac. I personally do not believe in an international conspiracy against the Serbs and that only the Greeks are our friends.

[Schneider] In your opinion, who bears the main responsibility for this terrible war?

[Markovic] We are all guilty: the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims. After all, nobody can wage a war with me if I do not want. We all wanted to split up with one another, and very soon we will all feel sorry about it.

[Schneider] You come from a communist family of partisans. Your father fought at the side of the founder of the Yugoslav state, Tito. Are you still grieving over the end of Titoism today?

[Markovic] I do not regard as "ism" the time during which Tito was president of Yugoslavia. Tito led the liberation struggle of our peoples against the fascists in World War II, for which we have to be grateful to him.

[Schneider] Yet now there are politicians in your country who have described Tito as a war criminal.

[Markovic] He was not a criminal but a liberator, and he managed to bring our peoples under one roof. I hope that his Yugoslavia will be restored.

[Schneider] Your newly-founded Communist Party of Serbia did not even win 5 percent of the votes in the last election. How is this possible in a country in which almost 90 percent of the population used to be communists?

[Markovic] That is one of the great secrets of our time. Not only in Yugoslavia, but in all countries of the former East bloc. Why the communists gave up their fight so quickly is a phenomenon that people will try to explain in the decades to come. One reason is certainly that many were in the party not out of conviction but only because they expected a personal advantage. After all, it was the only party, and it was the party that was in power. This is the greatest weakness of a single-party system.

## Macedonia

### Office For Relations With U.S. Opens in Skopje

*LD0312165193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1219 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] Skopje, 3 Dec (TANJUG)—It was officially announced today that the Office for the United States' Relations with the Republic of Macedonia—which is the official name of the office—has been opened in Skopje.

The office's main representative for the next three years will be Robert Norman.

The office, it was announced, will enable permanent contacts between the authorities in Washington and in Skopje, and it should be the basis for the further development of political, economic, and other relations between the United States and the former Yugoslav republic.

Well-informed circles believe that the regulation of relations between the two states, even if only through the so-called office for relations, is necessary for the realization of the United States' long-term strategic interests in this part of the Balkans.

### PPD in Gostivar Splits From Central Presidency

*AU0512220293 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 5 Dec 93*

[Communique by the Presidency of the Democratic Prosperity Party branch in Gostivar]

[Text] At a joint meeting held on 4 December with members of the Democratic Prosperity Party [PPD] Central Assembly and its own members in the PPD Central Presidency, the Presidency of the PPD branch in Gostivar issued the following communique:

Proceeding from the very difficult and no-way-out situation that is being created in the PPD as a result of irresponsibility, incompetence, or the intentional and harmful activity of the heads of the PPD Presidency and a situation that has blocked the whole party's life for a long time by skipping from one assembly to another without taking concrete decisions, the elected presidency of this branch declares that it no longer recognizes the PPD Central Presidency.

The PPD's Presidency of Gostivar Branch takes this decision after waiting long for the Central Presidency to find forces and react towards the continuous remarks of the branches and members of the PPD in Macedonia and diaspora, and after the latest attitudes on the anonymity of the congress anticipated to be held on 1 December this year, as well as the annulment of the assembly proposed to be held on 4 December this year, thus continuing the series of continuous violations of the statute and clearly showing that it misuses all the other structures of the party and all its members and sympathizers. Such actions aim at severely injuring the party and its reputation among the people, at a time when these leaders have been involved in other dubious anti-Albanian activities, and simultaneously harm the stability of Macedonia itself.

The PPD Presidency branch in Gostivar is convinced that this decision is a necessary step to preserve and dissociate the party from these people, and on this occasion, calls on all the other branches to express solidarity with this decision.

To come out of the created situation, in conformity with other branches and deputies, the PPD Presidency in Gostivar will organize an immediate assembly of the PPD, which will be held in Gostivar on 5 December.

### Archbishop's Selection 'Victory' for Nationalists

*LD0612105593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1555 GMT 5 Dec 93*

[Excerpts] Ohrid, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—Archbishop Mihail, the new head of the Macedonian Orthodox Church, was enthroned today in the church of Sveti Kliment in Ohrid. Archbishop Mihail, formerly Metropolitan of the Vardar Bishopric, was a VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity] candidate for the Macedonian coalition government last year. [passage omitted]

Well-informed political sources in Skopje believe that the choice of Metropolitan Mihail as the new head of the Macedonian church is a victory of the national forces over those who a advocate traditional church, orientated exclusively toward the issues of the faith, religious rites, and believers. Mihail is the fourth head of the Macedonian church since its separation, in the 1970's, from the Serbian Orthodox Church.

## Kosovo

### Increased Forces Noted Near Albanian Border

*AU0512202493 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 4 Dec 93*

[Text] An increase of the armed forces of the self-proclaimed Yugoslavia has been noticed in the border area between Kosova and Albania. It is reported that a new contingent of the armed forces has recently arrived in Dragash. It is also reported that work has recently started to change the high school dormitory into army barracks.

### Expulsions of Albanians Called 'Ethnic Cleansing'

*AU0212174093 Tirana ATA in English 1111 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] Tirana, November 2 (ATA)—The expulsion of Albanians from ethnic territories in Kosova over the last three years has assumed enormous proportions due to the intensification of violence and terror of Serbs on the Albanian population. At present the total of Albanians expelled from Kosova during the last three years is so great that now one may question whether it is about eviction or quiet ethnic cleansing intended at equalizing the number of Albanians and Serbs in Kosova.

A meeting held in Gjakove recently on the topic "Eviction of Albanians Is a Grave Wound" focused on the expulsion of Albanians. About 2,500 pupils or averagely pupils of a whole school are expelled from Gjakove every year. Embarrassing is the fact that youths aged from 20 to 30 are subject to expulsion. Bardhyl Caushi, chairman of the Independent Jurists' Association of Kosova, declared that throwing a glance on the history of Albanians one realizes that ethnic cleansing of Albanians aims at being liquidated by others. "The phenomenon of liquidation of Albanians is closely connected with the phenomenon of genocide and colonization," Masar Rizvanolli, member of the Association for the Return of the Albanians Evicted From Kosova, said, underlining that "what is happening over the last three years shows that it is not about a classical eviction, but a quiet ethnic cleansing."